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THE
MILITARY HISTORY
OF
CHARLES XII.
King of SWEDEN.
VOL. II.

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CHARLES XII.

King of SWEDEN.

Written by the exprefs Order of his Majesty,
By M. *GUSTAVUS ADLERFELD*,
CHAMBERLAIN to the KING.

To which is added,

An exact Account of the Battle of *Pultowa*,
with a JOURNAL of the KING's
Retreat to *Bender*.

Illustrated with Plans of the Battles and Sieges.

Translated into ENGLISH.

VOL. II.



LONDON:

Printed for J. and P. KNAPTON in *Ludgate-Street*;
J. HODGES upon *London-Bridge*; A. MILLAR
opposite to St. *Clement's Church* in the *Strand*; and
J. NOURSE without *Temple-Bar*. 1740.

MILITARY HISTORY

CHARLES XII

King of Sweden

Written by the express Order of his Majesty

By M. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

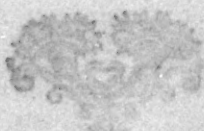
General to the King



An exact Account of the Battle of Poltava,
with a Journal of the King's
Retreat to Bender.

Translated with Notes of the Battles and Sieges
into English.

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THE
LIFE and HISTORY
OF
CHARLES XII.
KING of
SWEDEN.

THE Czar came now with *Scheremethoff* 1704.
to reinforce the army at the siege
of *Narva*, and immediately sent Go-
vernor *Skytt* into the trenches, to inform Ma-
jor-General *Horn*, who commanded in the town,
of the particulars of the taking of *Dorpt*, and of
Schlippenbach's defeat.

The batteries, which were made ready against
his Czarish Majesty's arrival, began now to
play; forty pieces of heavy cannon, and twenty-
four mortars were kept in continual employment;
and with such success, that the latter soon de-
stroyed the communication between *Narva* and
Ivanogrod; whilst the former made two large
breaches in different parts of the bastion called
Victoria.

The following minute and authentic relation
of this siege was presented to his Majesty by an
officer of the garrison of *Ivanogrod*.

1704.

A journal of what passed at the siege of Narva, from the first of April, to the twenty-fourth of August 1704.

April 1, the enemy marched from *Jama* over the ice to *Katterkybla*, where they entered *Livonia*, killing a great number of peasants, and taking others prisoners.

The 12th, at two in the morning, a party of *Russians* attacked the *Hakelwerk* * at *Ivanogrod*, where they killed a trooper, with several peasants and women, and made some prisoners; but were soon drove back by the guard posted at the bastion of *Horn*, which hastened thither on the first notice.

The 27th and 28th, some of their horse shewed themselves at the mouth of the river.

The 29th, they posted themselves there, and raised a battery, in defiance of the fire from two of our brigantines, which did their utmost to prevent them. One of these vessels received a shot in her side from the enemy, who, on their part, fired so briskly at them, that they were both obliged to retire farther out to sea. Baron *Henning Rudolph Horn*, the Governor, went without the walls to observe the motions of the enemy, who, elated with their success, gave him some ineffectual salutes from their cannon.

The 30th, the enemy continued their works, and advanced so near, that as the vessels in the road could no longer come into the port, so neither could those which lay at anchor under the cannon of the town venture to sail out, so

* The French translate this word, a magazine of hemp: it is a kind of work-house.

that all hopes of conveying any fresh supplies of provisions into the town were entirely cut off. 1704.

The 1st and 2d of *May*, the enemy carried on their trenches with great vigour on the road leading to *Kybla*, to prevent our ships from coming up to the town. In the middle of the night they past over on prames from *Livonia*, and surprized some small vessels which endeavoured to throw us in provisions. When they passed the river, they daily continued to incommode us, and made their utmost efforts to carry off our horses and cattle.

The 10th, we detached Colonel *Lood* with three hundred foot, and Colonel *Marash* with two hundred and fifty horse, to support Colonel *Rebbinder*, who had advanced with his regiment of foot, consisting of six hundred men, to the mouth of the river opposite the enemy's batteries.

At our arrival, we found no enemy on our side; but they had no sooner perceived us from the other, than they threw a bridge cross the river with the utmost expedition, over which they immediately passed to give us battle. Our Colonels now consulted together what measures were proper to be taken: they agreed, that it was too hazardous to engage the enemy with so inferior a force, and without cannon; besides which *Rebbinder's* regiment was very ill provided with musquets, and we had no tools to raise a breastwork to cover us in case of the last necessity; they therefore resolved on a retreat, which was performed in the following good order. *Rebbinder's* regiment marched first; *Lood's* foot followed, and the horse with thirty grenadiers secured the rear.

1704. The enemy advanced in a large body, and seemed to have an intention of attacking us; but as we had the good fortune to break down the bridge at *Tarvajegi*, before they could reach it, we put a stop to their march, and returned into the town with the loss of very few men. *Horn* was so dissatisfied with the conduct of this expedition, that he summoned a council of war to animadvert upon it.

The 11th and 12th, we saw a very large body of the enemy's horse scouring the country on the *Livonian* side.

The 13th, we heard a great firing towards the road and the mouth of the port.

The 21st, the enemy with great boldness approached under the cannon of the town, and carried off some cattle and several prisoners.

The 29th, the enemy shewed themselves on *Javal* side, and took some horses; at the same time their own horse suffered a little from our ordnance. The same day, at half an hour past three in the afternoon, the enemy attacked the work-house, and traversed the gardens belonging to it with a large detachment of horse, cutting to pieces all they met. Captain *Hochmuth*, who was here posted with no more than fifteen horse, made all possible defence, and gave them a diversion for a long time; but when he found they were attempting to cut off his retreat, he thought proper to retire under the counterscarp: the enemy followed him; but were so well saluted by the guns from our bastions, that they were soon put to flight, leaving behind them some horses, and a *Russian* officer well dressed, who was taken prisoner; their dead they carried off according to their custom.

Captain

Captain *Hochmuth* lost very few of his men and horses: he received himself several wounds, and had his own horse shot under him. The enemy advanced their posts as far as *Rotbenham*, and encamped their foot nearer the town.

The 30th, we withdrew our most advanced sentries on that side. The same day we saw a large body of troops arrive in the enemy's camp, whom we saluted from our guns in the best manner we could.

The 31st, they approached from *Ivanogrod* side, with a design of carrying off our cattle and horses; but on the brisk fire from our ramparts, they retreated behind the hill of *Ratshoff*, where they pitched their tents, sending their forlorn hope to the top of the hill. We afterwards learnt that this was Major-General *Tschammer* who had drawn his regiment of dragoons, clothed in green, from the mouth of the river to this hill.

The 1st of *June*, the enemy affected to brave us, parading up and down with a strong body of horse, which we attacked several times with some advantage.

The 2d, at break of day Lieutenant Colonel *Marquard* was attacked in his return from the castle of *Ivanogrod*, whither he had been detached with a party of horse to escort some prisoners; but the bravery of our troops repulsed the enemy, and forced them to retreat behind a hill, whither they were pursued by a hundred and fifty of our horse, who with extraordinary valour drove them as far as the next wood, where having drawn up in order of battle, and receiving a considerable reinforcement of horse, they obliged us to retreat in our turn: this retreat however we executed in the most

1704. gallant manner, with our faces and pistols presented to the enemy, till we had drawn back under the castle of *Ivanograd*, where Major *Funk* was posted to support us. *Funk* perceiving that we were pursued, advanced hastily with such of his party as were on the right to our assistance, on which the enemy immediately retreated behind the hill, and abandoned all thoughts of renewing the engagement.

Marquard would have engaged *Funk* to advance jointly with their troops to the enemy's camp, (which was at a very little distance) that they might, if possible, make themselves masters thereof and plunder it. *Funk* alledged that he had no orders to march any farther, nor to second the horse, so that all the advantage we gained over the enemy consisted in their loss of men and horses, which was considerable. A dragoon, who was taken prisoner by us, reported, that they had no more than six thousand men, but expected the Czar every moment with forty thousand more. In this action we lost Lieutenant *Appeloff*, Ensign *Sparkuk*, and eight troopers. The same day General *Horn* having observed the enemy marching with a considerable body of troops towards *Livonia*, detached the Colonels *Rebbinder* and *Fersen* with twelve hundred foot, and Lieutenant *Marquard* with two hundred foot on *Ivanograd* side, to attack them and take possession of their camp. *Rebbinder* was at the same time ordered to return into the town on the throwing a bomb, which was to be his signal, and which the General afterwards ordered to be given him, as soon as he perceived from the top of a house, that the enemy were returning in great numbers. Lieutenant-Colonel *Bloman*, who at this time performed

formed the office of Aid-de-Camp General, was likewise sent out to recal the troops, and found our horse engaged with the enemy; but on the orders which he brought them, they immediately returned from the fight, in which several were killed on both sides, and on the enemy's an officer of distinction.

The 4th, we saw a body of horse and foot on the *Livonian* side; and in the evening heard a violent fire from that which looks towards the road.

The 5th, a drum arrived from the enemy with a letter from Captain *Staal*, who had been made prisoner on the 2d of May, informing us, that Lieutenant *Maidel*, with seventy men of *Rebbinder's* regiment, were taken on board a transport-vessel, which had been shipwrack'd. The drum was instantly sent back, with permission to return the next day for an answer.

The 6th, the drum returned at noon, and received the answer we had promised him. The same day the enemy made different motions.

The 7th, we heard several volleys of small arms towards the road, between the hours of one and three, and saw the smoke ascend to a great height in the air. The enemy made several attempts to carry off our cattle, but were always prevented by our cannon.

The 9th, at two in the afternoon, we heard the report of two cannons on the *Livonian* side, and afterwards of two more at a less distance; which made the Major-General believe, that *Schlippenbach* was arrived with those succours we so impatiently expected, and they were accordingly answered by the usual *Swedish* signal. Soon after, we discovered a little smoke at a vast distance, which confirmed us in our opinion

1704. nion of the arrival of the succours, whose vanguard we imagined to be engaged with that of the enemy.

We afterwards saw the enemy (having first struck their tents, and withdrawn those advanced guards which they had posted nearest the town) march out of their camp, and draw up in two very long lines, to oppose an army which we saw approaching from a wood on the left. These bodies now began to cannonade each other, which was soon followed by several volleys from their small arms; after which, they fell together in such a manner, that by all appearances it was impossible to suspect but that it was an engagement between two armies. Major-General *Horn* therefore immediately dispatched Colonel *Lood* with eight hundred foot, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Morath* with a hundred and fifty horse, to second those troops which we thought were in reality come to our assistance.

In the heat of the battle, we perceived those whom we mistook for *Russians* retreating towards the bridge, as they had done at the former siege, which persuaded our horse that the enemy was beaten. But *Morath*, advancing nearer to discover the truth of the fact, was presently undeceived, and with all his men surrounded by the enemy. He was himself taken prisoner, as were Mr. *Kons*, Captain of Horse; and the Cornets *Hult*, *Dücker* and *Pipenstok*. Captain *Lindkrantz*, with fifty troopers, were cut to pieces.

The same day, Lieutenant *Wilbrant* having made a sally on that side of the town where the *Hakelwerk* stood with forty men, with an intent to throw down the chimneys, ventured imprudently too far, and was surrounded, when the

1704.

the greater part of his men were slain, and himself very narrowly escaped. A great crowd of citizens, peasants and women, who went out with *Lood* and *Morath* in hopes of a rich booty, lost their lives; but *Lood* himself and his foot, being somewhat backward, were fortunately preserved.

The 10th, a drum arrived from the enemy with a letter for the Governor, and was bid to return the next day for his answer.

The 11th, the drum returned and received his answer. This day the enemy made several motions, which obliged the Governor to send Colonel *Rebbinder*, with some foot, into the counterscarp to observe them. A peasant, who under the favour of very hazy weather, had slipped as far as the counterscarp, reported, that the enemy had received a considerable reinforcement, and that they had carried many of the inhabitants of *Wask-Narva* and the adjacent parts into slavery. At midnight they set about their intrenchments at *Wippekbyla*, *Goldenboff*, and the road leading to *Joala*, which are almost the same places where they had carried on their intrenchments at the last siege.

The 13th, we sent a trumpet to the enemy, to ask permission to bury such of our men as had been killed in the last action; but as their General was then absent, we could not obtain it. They carried on their works with great diligence both night and day.

The 14th, they began a line of counter-vallation. We sent again the same trumpet; but he was not suffered to come within their camp, because we had not admitted their drum into the town.

mon

The

1704.

The 15th, we received an answer by a *Russian* drum, that we might bury our dead: to attend which ceremony, an officer with eight men were appointed on each side. Mr. *Kolanin*, Captain of horse, was the officer on our side.

The 16th, the enemy extended their works, and at one in the morning began a lodgment near *Rosbenbahn*, in defiance of our bombs. That night they advanced twenty * toises on the hill near the river.

The 17th, Colonel *Fersen* was detached with eight hundred foot to demolish the houses and gardens belonging to the *Hakelwerk*, that they might not serve for a shelter to the enemy. This was executed with success, no more than four men being wounded.

The 18th, the enemy continued to push on their works with vigour. We saw near *Joala* several boats bringing them cannon.

The 20th, the enemy made repeated efforts all day long, to carry off our cattle, as well from *Narva* side as that of *Ivanograd*; but our cannon always prevented them.

This day, the Major-General ordered some foot to sally with two field-pieces before the bastion *Gloria*, for the enemy advanced directly towards *Segelberg* hill. As soon as we had pointed our cannon, (which we did without the enemy's perceiving us) we gave them such a salute, that we saw several fall, and the rest run out of their trenches. This whole day we continued a brisk fire from our mortars as well as our great guns.

The 21st, the enemy advanced under the hill near the bridge of boats, to prevent our men

* A French measure consisting of six feet.

from

from demolishing the chimneys. We incommoded them incessantly with our small arms, and a great quantity of grenades. They returned the compliment to our new work, where having killed several men, the Major-General gave orders in the evening that no one should shew himself on the ramparts. The same day, a *Russian* drum arrived with letters from Colonel *Morath* and other officers, who had been taken prisoners on the 9th instant.

The 23d, the enemy extended their trenches under *Segelberg* hill, near *Lyfvenkylla*, between the sides of two hills, pointing their line towards the bastion *Victoria*.

The 24th, they continued their trenches down the side of the river. In the evening we saw a large body of foot marching near *Rudbofsberg*, with a great number of waggons loaded with baggage, which they brought from the mouth of the river.

The 25th, we saw another large quantity of baggage arrive in their camp. The enemy now carried on their works directly before the polygon of the bastion *Fama*.

The 26th and 27th, they pushed on their trenches on *Ivanogrod* side, and at the same time did their utmost to carry off our cattle, which however the cannon on our ramparts secured.

The 28th, they worked by night at their trenches behind the *Rathsbof*; whilst the castle of *Ivanogrod* made a very brisk fire at them.

The 29th, the enemy carried on their works by night down the hill towards the road of *Fama*, where they raised a breast-work, notwithstanding our fire from the town and the castle of *Ivanogrod*. During the day they lay still.

The

1704.

The 30th, they pushed their trenches as far as the road of *Jama*.

The 1st of *July*, the Major-General ordered the citizens to bring all their horses to the castle of *Ivanogrod*, where all those officers who would take them, were to come and wait for fresh orders. The General, observing that the *Russians* ventured out of their trenches to a spring of water near *Ivanogrod*, sent to these officers who were now waiting on horse-back, to come down into a valley below the castle, where they were to expect a signal from a great gun on one of the bastions. On this signal, they were with the utmost speed to mount the hill sword in hand, and cut off the retreat of the *Russians* into their trenches. But on their arrival on the hill, they found no more than a single *Russian*, who threw himself on the ground, and chose rather to die than surrender. The enemy fired several times on us without wounding a single man, though we were not above thirty paces from them.

As this attempt was unsuccessful, Captain *Hochmuth* proposed with some dragoons in the disguise of fishermen, who were to pretend to be fishing in three small vessels, to draw the *Russians* nearer the bastion *Victoria*. He had advanced but a very little way on the river before they detached thirty men with fuzees to interrupt the fishers; which when the Governor observed, he sent Lieutenant *Eschener* with fifty men to cut off their retreat. This attempt proving successful, the *Russians* took the water. Eight of them were made prisoners by Captain *Hochmuth*, who immediately put to land, and the rest drowned.

The Lieutenant set fire to some houses, and stood several discharges from four hundred *Russians*,

1704.
fians, who were posted thereabouts. These, as soon as the Lieutenant-Colonel who commanded them was killed, retreated; so that our detachment returned into the town without the loss of one man, and no more than one non-commissioned officer and one soldier wounded. We learnt from some *Russian* prisoners, that *Schlippenbach* was beaten, and Colonel *Fritz-Wachtmeister* taken prisoner.

The 3d, a *Russian* drum arrived with some letters. The enemy drew a line from the spot where the little skirmish had happened on the 1st instant, ascending toward the counterscarp of the bastion *Gloria*. Captain *Frolich* was hereupon detached with eighty men to molest them; but they paid very little regard to his fire, and seemed resolved to carry on their works, however great the loss might be which they suffered on that occasion.

The 4th, we saw a considerable reinforcement arrive in the enemy's camp between *Waperkybla* and *Joala*, near the former of which places they had prepared a great many boats.

The 5th, The enemy, having carried their lines before the * *Caponiere* from four to five toises distance from the river, made a continual discharge of their small arms upon the ramparts. We saw fresh troops arrive every day in their camp, and observed that the enemy had thrown over a new bridge at *Waperkybla*, and that their tents now increased near *Sacronia*.

On the 6th, the enemy brought their trenches down to the river on that side where the mill of *Axel* stood. On the other, they extended their

* A dry trench or ditch with loop-holes, through which the besieged fire on the enemy.

1704. line as far as the road of *Bleeking*. They fired three pounders from their battery at *Rathoffberg*, on our workmen who were employed on the *Horn*-bastion, and afterwards on the town; with very little execution on either.

The 7th, they lessened the guard on the counterscarp: for whereas a Captain with eighty men had hitherto constantly mounted there, a Lieutenant with thirty men only was henceforth ordered for that service; but every one of these had thirty cartridges each, all which they were daily to discharge.

The enemy now extended their trenches beyond the road of *Bleeking*, and fortified them with gabions from one end to the other. At two in the morning they were alarmed on *Ivanogrod* side, when some soldiers, who were sent to reconnoitre the enemy, fell in with one of their parties, with whom they exchanged several shot. In this skirmish we had three men killed, and some few wounded.

The 8th, the enemy pushed their trenches on *Ivanogrod* side as far as a place called *Kat-terumpan*, whence they afterwards made an heavy fire from their small arms. On *Narva* side they raised a redoubt upon *Goldenhoff* hill. In the afternoon, thirteen vessels arrived in their camp from the lake *Peipus*.

The 9th, they reinforced their guards in the night on *Bleeking* road, and drew a line behind their trenches, which they fortified with a great quantity of gabions.

The 11th, the enemy drew very near the ditch on the left of the bastion *Honor*, and the fire was incessant on both sides, in which they had some advantage from their grenade-mortars. Several men were every day killed
and

and wounded on our own part as well as of the besiegers. 1704.

The 12th, the enemy approached the bastion *Victoria*. The Governor mounted the ramparts each day with a great number of officers to direct the firing. He this day lost one of his fingers by a fuzee-shot.

The 14th, the besiegers worked very hard on *Ivanograd* side. They raised a battery on the right of *Bleeking* road, with twelve port-holes against the bastion *Victoria*, and that part of the rampart which is called *Sandwall*. Some of our troopers this day took six sheep and nine horses on *Ivanograd* side.

The 15th, the enemy in the night joined their two lines before the glacis of the ravelin of the *Royal-Gate*; nor could the violent fire of the cannon from our ramparts, and the small arms from the counterscarp, prevent them from making a lodgment on the counterscarp. On *Katterumpan* side, they extended their line, and fortified it with gabions. We this day saw a great number of troops marching on all parts.

The 16th, they worked very hard by night at the battery which we have just now mentioned, and added eight new port-holes to the twelve. This night they brought a large quantity of fascines towards *Katterumpan*, where they began another grand battery.

The same day they began to molest our workmen at the bastion *Victoria* with several volleys from their small arms above the river. They drew their lines every day nearer that part of the counterscarp which was between the bastions *Gloria*, *Honor*, and *Victoria*.

The 17th, they continued to work on their batteries, and raised one of mortars on *Segalberg* hill.

1704. hill. The same day a great body of horse arrived from *Livonia*.

The 19th, several pieces of ordnance were brought to the camp, and the enemy placed a great quantity of gabions on their two lines, which they had drawn round the castle of *Ivanograd*, and worked at their new batteries. The same night, we first heard the distinct report of two fuses, and presently afterwards a very brisk firing both of cannon and small arms from *Livonia* side. At noon, the enemy saluted us with a triple discharge of an hundred and three pieces of ordnance of different sizes, which were accompanied each time by a volley of small arms, that served them for a signal. They likewise hoisted fourteen small colours on their trenches at these discharges. The same day they fired for the last time on *Ivanograd* side.

The 21st, the enemy drew a new line towards the hill of *Garafensberg*, so as to command the whole valley under the castle of *Ivanograd*. The same evening at eight, a very extraordinary meteor was seen in the sky, which at first appeared in the East, presenting the form of a star, whence drawing towards the West, it assumed the figure of a fusee. As it descended on the horizon, its extreme part displayed a resemblance of the sun, which, as it burst, cast forth many rays or flashes of light, that were at last changed into a very dark cloud, which was seen all night in the air, and entirely dispersed itself at break of day.

The 23d, one of our Captains, whose name was *Drentel*, was killed on the ramparts. The enemy now carried on their works in open day, without concerning themselves at the loss they suffered.

The

The 25th, they began to raise a new battery near *Bleeking* road, between those two before mentioned. 1764.

The 27th, they began another a little lower.

The 28th, they laid planks on their batteries, and mounted them with their cannons and mortars.

The 31st, being *Sunday*, at noon, just as the people were coming out of church, the besiegers began for the first time to batter the bastion *Victoria*, with forty-six heavy cannons, which they fired all at once. At the same time, they bombarded the town with fifteen mortars which they had placed on the *Bleeksbjerg*. They had three heavy Cannon near *Garasemsberg* hill; fourteen guns on a battery adjoining to the bridge of communication between the town and the castle; nine on the battery at *Onnekylla*; twenty on the hill called *Postmeisterberg*, behind which they placed two mortars; two others behind that of *Garasim* *, and two near *Onnekylla* †; besides which there were two other batteries with four mortars each, and four mortars near the bridge of boats.

From all this artillery, which was afterwards increased by fifty great guns and twenty-four mortars, the enemy fired incessantly on us: from their guns all day, and from their mortars both day and night.

The 1st of *August*, in the night a bomb fell into the arsenal; which it reduced, with all therein, to ashes; but did us however no other mischief. This day, we saw large bodies of horse and foot marching on the road of *Livonia* towards *Jõala*.

* *Garasim* in the *French*, but it is undoubtedly the same with the hill before mentioned.

† The *French* translation is obscure by ill pointing.

1704.

The 2d, the besiegers drew very near the bastion *Victoria*.

The 3d, they threw many bombs into the castle of *Ivanogrod* with very little execution. This disappointment they revenged on the town, where they barbarously abused the inhabitants, and burnt several houses in the new town.

The 5th, a *Russian* inhabitant of *Narva* went over to the besiegers, and acquainted them that the Governor's house was not yet damaged; on this advice, they aimed a quantity of bombs thither, which did it some little harm, but not the least to the General's family. The same night a soldier of Captain *Frolich's* company deserted to the enemy.

The 6th, Lieutenant *Blomann* being in the counterscarp, very narrowly escaped being cut off with his whole command by fifty only of the enemy, who now pushed on their works against the breaches of the bastion *Victoria*; but he luckily saved himself by the Royal Ravelin, and gave immediate advice of his danger to the Governor, who resolved to expose his men no more in that manner; henceforth, he only ordered little sallies from time to time, to bring off their gabions, and set fire to their works.

The 7th, at nine in the morning, the foundations of the bastion *Honor* sunk all at once, by which one entire face, with the parapet, the rampart, and all the artillery were overthrown into the ditch. The upper part of the wall fell on the inside, and the lower without, so that the enemy, by the help of their ladders, might have mounted a hundred men abreast. The Governor, on this unfortunate accident, ordered out all the peasants, servants and women to work on

on the fallen bastion ; but these orders were 1704.
obeyed by very few.

In the afternoon, a *Russian* drum brought a letter from the Velt-Marshal *Ogilvi* to the Governor. He advised him “ to surrender the
“ place, to prevent the effusion of human
“ blood, and especially of the innocent inhabitants, whom the foldiers could not be
“ with-held from sacrificing, when they carry
“ a place by assault.” He represented to him,
“ That the town in which he commanded must
“ be infallibly taken, for that heaven had
“ opened a passage for the *Russians* ; that he had
“ few men, and but little provision, nor any
“ expectation of succours, of which he might
“ be confirmed by the Governor of *Dorpt*, and
“ a dragoon who had been witnesses of *Schlippenbach*’s defeat, and could at the same time
“ testify to him the clemency with which his
“ Czarish Majesty had treated the garrisons of
“ *Nooteburg*, *Nyen* and *Dorpt*, which, though
“ they had made a brave defence, had not
“ however held out to the last extremity.”

The Governor returned a very rude answer to this letter, which was the reason that the Czar, after he had taken the place, used him very ill, and committed him to prison.

That day, the enemy shot nine arrows into the town with letters fastened to them. These the Governor ordered to be brought to him, and forbad any from opening them on pain of death. Whilst the *Russian* drum remained in the town, there was a truce and intercourse between both parties.

Colonel *Skytt* came now to inform us of the taking of *Dorpt*, and that he was the next day to follow his garrison, who were on their march

1704. for *Reval*. In the evening, we heard at a great distance towards *Livonia*, the *Swedish* signal of two cannon shot, to which the Governor answered by two large guns from *Ivanogrod*.

The *Russian* drum remained all night in the town; on which account the Governor flattered himself with the hopes of a truce, and a cessation of the bombardment; but as soon as the enemy who had re-demanded the drum, perceived that we would not deliver him, they threw a great quantity of bombs and red-hot bullets into the town. About midnight the enemy gave in a false alarm, drawing themselves up in order of assault between the bastions *Honor* and *Victoria*; but at our firing on them they retreated.

The 8th, Lieutenant-Colonel *Kinnert* exposing himself too much, was killed on the ramparts. The besiegers now made a dreadful fire on our workmen, who were employed in repairing the breaches of *Honor* and *Victoria*, so that not a day past wherein we had less than thirty men killed, without reckoning those who lost an arm or a leg. We had this evening another false alarm from the bastion *Fortuna*.

The 9th, the enemy appeared ready for the assault. The same day, a bomb fell into a chest of six hundred grenades, which were all burnt, but luckily without more mischief. This night, a false alarm was spread near *Victoria* and *Honor*.

The 10th, was a day truly dreadful and fatal to this poor town; for at two in the afternoon, the besiegers at last mounted the assault with sixteen hundred men, without including the troops who were drawn up to support them, in four different places. Lieutenant-General *Schonbeck*

beck commanded the attack on the *Victoria*; 1704. Major-General *Tschammer* that of *Honor*; a third officer that of the ravelin between *Honor* and *Gloria*; and lastly, General *von Werden* that of the ravelin between *Gloria* and *Fama*.

They began the attack by levelling their cannon at the breaches, whether they likewise threw their grenades, and discharged several volleys of small arms; so that it was impossible for any of the besieged to maintain their posts there one minute without being shot to pieces. The enemy then brought up their detachments, each carrying green colours, and mounted the assault with great fury; but were constantly beaten back in all parts. The ground was now covered with the dead; and as fresh bodies of the besiegers continually succeeded each other in the attack, our poor men, who were extremely fatigued with their long defence, and weakened with their great loss, especially from the grenades, which did us incredible mischief, after a bloody fight and obstinate resistance of three hours, began to give ground.

The enemy made their first lodgment on the foundered face of the bastion *Honor*, where the succours which were ordered thither arrived too late for its defence. The Governor had indeed directed succours to all parts; but his excellent disposition was rendered fruitless by that spirit of confusion which now began to spread itself throughout.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Freiden* sustained this violent assault. He was seconded by Major *Funk*, by the Captains *Aminbof* and *Gyllenspang*, two Lieutenants, and two Ensigns. All these, (except the Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain *Aminbof*) and almost all their men were cut to pieces.

1704. The enemy thence penetrated into all parts, both of the new town and the old, and put all they met, as well officers as soldiers, to the sword, killing in the whole above fifteen hundred, besides a great number of citizens, women, children and peasants.

The slaughter continued several hours, till the Czar himself by his own presence put an end to it. We may easily imagine the vast numbers that were slain : for not to mention three thousand men which the *Russians* lost at the attack, nor the great slaughter of our own soldiers, the poor inhabitants lay butchered in heaps, streams of blood ran through the streets ; and the enemy were employed for three days together in drawing out the dead, wounded and sick (many of them at the point of death) on waggons and sledges. They carried them all to the bridge of *Ivanograd*, where they threw the dead and the living without mercy one upon another into the river. A spectacle full of horror that cannot be express'd ! The enemy penetrated through the river gate towards the bastion *Honor*, where Colonel *Fersen* defended himself some time with a hundred men, but was at last made prisoner, very few of his soldiers escaping to the castle of *Ivanograd*.

The *Russians* being now masters of the town, a *Russian* Colonel, whose name was *Ritter*, presented himself in the evening before the castle of *Ivanograd*, and desired to speak with Lieutenant-Colonel *Stierstabl* the Governor, who very willingly accepted the truce which was offered him, but rejected the proposition of surrendering at discretion ; though he had no more than two hundred men in his garrison, which was very weak on the *Narva* side, as there had been lit-
tle

the likelihood conceived of its being ever attacked from that quarter. 1704.

As Colonel *Ritter* persisted in offering no better terms, the Governor sent Lieutenant *Blaman* to amuse the *Muscovite* at the ramparts, whilst he disposed his garrison in the best posture of defence. *Ritter* pressing very eagerly for an answer, was at last told that the Governor was in the town, that they knew not whether he was living or dead, and could consent to nothing without his orders.

Whilst *Ritter* and his detachment returned with this answer to *Narva*, the Governor drew out his men, and posted them in the most advantageous manner he could. Mr. *Arnstedt*, who was a Colonel in the Czar's service, and Envoy from King *Augustus*, came to the castle with a letter which Captain *Frolich* received without the walls; it contained a fresh summons, with orders from Major-General *Horn* to surrender at discretion. *Stiernstrahl* answered, that as the General was in the enemy's hands, he could not receive his orders, and that he resolved to defend the place to the last drop of his blood.

Major-General *Horn* was actually taken prisoner at the enemy's first entry into the town, together with five Colonels, two Lieutenant-Colonels, five Majors, five Captains of Horse, twenty-one Captains of Foot, twenty-nine Lieutenants, thirty Cornets and Ensigns, all the officers of artillery and engineers, with about a thousand soldiers, all which received quarter.

The 11th, and the following days, the Governor laboured very hard at putting the castle in a posture of defence, and resolved, if the enemy would not accord him those terms which

1704. he had desired, or if they attempted to take the place by assault, that rather than surrender he would blow it up with all his garrison, for which he had no other provisions than a little meal and salt, and that only for a very few days.

The Czar was highly incensed when he heard the Governor's answer, and sent back Mr. *Arnstedt* to tell him, that if we did not immediately accept the terms which he offered us, he would sacrifice all that remained alive, even the prisoners themselves, at *Narva*, and would deal with us in the same manner, without sparing even the infant at its mother's breast.

The Governor replied, That these threats would not induce him to deliver up a fortress which his King had intrusted him with the care of. That his Czarish Majesty might take what measures he thought proper; that as for himself, he should look on it as a total loss of his honour, cowardly to surrender at the discretion of an enemy, before he was reduced to the last extremity; but if he could obtain an honourable capitulation, he might then perhaps resolve on putting the castle into his Majesty's hands. Whereupon Velt-Marshal *Ogilvi* desired him to set down the terms which he insisted on in writing, and insinuated, that it was not yet too late to lay hold of the Czar's clemency; telling him, that he was surprized to see a Governor so haughty with a starved garrison, for that they were no strangers to all the circumstances of their miserable condition; and concluded with advising him to send three officers the next day (the 16th) to him at *Narva*, to settle the capitulation, and that he would send back three others of equal rank to the castle to remain

remain there as hostages till the whole was concluded. 1704.

The Governor resolved to accept this condition, though much against his inclination, and almost with tears in his eyes. He presently asked the consent of his officers, who represented to him, that he had all imaginable reason to justify his surrender; for the enemy might starve us in a very few days, since there remained no more than five bushels of meal for the whole garrison, which slender provision being exhausted, if the enemy would not do us the honour of taking us by assault, we should be reduced to the alternative of surrendering at last at discretion, or of blowing ourselves into the air.

The 16th, when we were desirous of beginning the treaty, the enemy pretended to sing *Te Deum*, after which they made a triple discharge from the ramparts, which were yet in good condition. The Czar then placed a new mortar before Prince *Menzikoff's* house, whom he made Governor of the town, and having filled it with wine, drank the health of his Generals on their late conquest.

The 17th, the Governor sent three officers, viz. the Captains *Frolich* and *Kors*, and Quarter-Master *Quensel* into the town, with the terms of the capitulation, who were received at the gates by *Pulkammer* a Russian Major.

At the same time, the enemy sent us three other Captains, whom the Lieutenants *Blaman* and *Wilbrant* received at the gates. The Governor demanded to march out colours flying, and drum beating, with all their arms and baggage, and four field-pieces, and to have liberty to go to *Reval*; and that those officers and soldiers, who had wives at *Narva*, might fetch them

1704. them thence. To all which, except what concerned the colours and the cannon, general *Ogilvi* agreed.

The 18th, at eight in the morning, they took possession of the castle of *Ivanograd* with a regiment of foot, where they detained us eight days, before we were suffered to depart. They accommodated our sick with four lodgens or small vessels, and equipt the general and some others with one of a larger burthen, for the transportation of their baggage to *Reval*, whither the rest of the garrison, who were in health, marched by land with their wives and families.

I observed as we past through *Pibasseggi* and *Silaneggi*, that the enemy had fortified those passes with so much industry, that they were very difficult to be forced. They afterwards demanded a passport for two officers and fifty men to *Wiborg*, of which when *Stiernstrahl* asked the reason, they answered it was to carry the news of the taking *Narva*.

We were escorted ten leagues by a Captain and thirty dragoons; when they were relieved by another Captain with twenty-four dragoons, being a detachment from Colonel *Renn*, who marched before us with eight regiments of dragoons, in search of Major-General *Schlippenbach*. This escort staid with us two days only, after which we marched by our selves, without the least accident.

The loss of the *Russians* at this siege was very considerable, the only assault which they made, having cost them Colonel *Berner*, with two other Colonels, five Majors, several other officers, and three thousand men. The Czar found in the town and castle fifty-nine pieces of cannon, four mortars, and eleven aubits, all of brass;

brass; a hundred and seventy-nine cannons, thirty-one mortars, and four aubits of iron; four thousand bombs, and forty thousand grenades; a hundred and sixty thousand bullets, three hundred seven thousand balls, more than a thousand quintals of lead, sixty-six thousand cheveaux de frise armed with iron; in a word, the greatest part of what the King of Sweden had taken from the Czar at the battle of *Narva* four years before. 1704.

Those citizens and inhabitants who were spared were obliged presently to take an oath to their new master, who now declared *Alexander Menzikoff* to be his chief favourite. He had already raised him to the dignity of a Prince, and made him Governor of all *Ingria*, of which he afterwards gave him the fief.

As to Major-General *Horn*, when he was conducted to the Czar, immediately after the taking *Narva*, he received a very severe reprimand, and some say a blow, for his want of respect in the answer which he returned to the summons sent him to surrender. His Czarish Majesty committed him to the same prison where *Schlippenbach*, formerly Governor of *Rosensburg*, had been confined by the order of the same General *Horn*, who accused him of not having made a sufficient defence; and the Czar gave *Schlippenbach* leave to go to *Stockholm* to answer the accusations brought against him.

Dzalinski, the Waiwode of *Culm*, came to the Czar from King *Augustus*, at the time when he sat down before *Narva*. We have already remarked, that the Diet of *Lublin* had consented to the King's sending Ambassadors, and entering into treaties with foreign powers; and that in consequence of this vote, *Augustus* had fixed

1704. fixed on this Waiwode as his Minister to the Czar. We have likewise observed the opposition which it met with from *Lubomirski* and several Senators, and that he was stopt on the road by a letter from the *Senatus-Consilium* of *Jawarow*, which forbad him to go any farther. He answered, that as he had been named by the three orders of the State, he could not be recalled without the express command of King *Augustus*. And as he did not receive that order, he continued his journey through *Kiow* towards *Moscow*, where not finding the Czar, he was obliged to go through *Pleskow*, to his army before *Narva*, where he had a solemn audience, and obtained all the concessions he was ordered to demand. The following is an extract of the articles of the alliance which was then concluded between these two princes.

1. There shall be an alliance offensive and defensive between the King and the Republic of *Poland* on the one part, and his Czarish Majesty on the other.

2. There shall be a perfect good understanding between their Majesty's and their Generals in *Poland*, *Muscovy* and *Saxony*.

3. They shall conclude no separate peace.

4. The town of *Bialacerkieff*, and all other places in the *Ucrain*, possessed by the *Paley*, shall be restored to the Republic.

5. The towns and fortresses which his Czarish Majesty hath taken in *Livonia* shall be yielded to *Poland*, as well as all the rest of this country, without any reimbursement to the Czar of those expences which he hath been at in the war.

6. The

6. The Czar shall supply the Republic with twelve thousand men, and shall maintain them during the whole war. 1704.

7. The Czar shall allow the Republic yearly two millions of *Polish* florins, besides his particular allowance to the King of *Poland*.

8. If the King of *Sweden* can be driven out of *Poland*, he shall be followed, and the war carried into his own country.

The Ambaffador demanded farther of the Czar in what manner he would receive the Pope's Nuntio; and at the same time requested, that he would permit the Catholics freely to exercise their religion in *Moscow* and *Smolensko*.

To the first article, the Czar answered, That though he did not recognize the Pope as head of the church, he would nevertheless permit his Nuntio to take place of all other foreign Ministers, if any occasion should offer; and as to the article concerning the free profession of the Catholic Religion, he agreed to it.

It was soon known that there was a secret article contradictory to the 5th, and by which the Czar reserved some forts in *Livonia*; and it was this which gave birth to those animosities, which afterwards increased at the general confederacy of *Warsovia*. This secret article at length entirely alienated the affections of the *Poles*, and incensed them even to the declaring the throne vacant, and the election of a new king.

Oginfski, after his defeat, came to the Czar at the siege of *Narva*, who had promised to send him twelve thousand men into *Poland*; but he earnestly solicited him to march thither himself at the head of a numerous army. This the Czar was prevailed on to promise, and he accordingly

1704. cordingly made all the necessary dispositions for the next campaign, in which he was likely to encounter more difficulties than in those he had already made. Being now resolved to enter *Poland* with 100000 *Russians*, and sixty thousand *Cossacks*, he raised an infinite number of men through all his vast dominions, designing to attack us in different places, and being particularly intent on the conquest of *Livonia*, where we were always extremely weak; but these hopes were a little abashed, by an account of fresh forces which the King of *Sweden* designed to pour into this country, and of a strong squadron which he was equipping for the gulf of *Finland*, to demolish *Retusari*, and the new city of *Petersburg*.

The Czar began by sending Prince *Menzikoff* into *Poland*, who came to *Wilna*, where there was already a body of six thousand *Muscovites*. The Prince in his conferences with the heads of the confederacy at *Sandomir*, promised them all that the Czar had before promised to the *Palatin* of *Culm*, and to *Oginski*.

In the end of the year, the Czar came to *Moscow*, where he made extraordinary rejoicings for the successful issue of his late campaign. But it is now time to return to the affairs of *Poland*. Count *Lowenbaupt*, after he had beaten the *Russians* and *Oginski*, resolved to attack the town of *Birsen* in *Lithuania*, whence the enemy constantly disturbed our territories of *Courland*. He invested and blocked it up for some weeks, and then took it by composition; razed the fortifications, and then returned into *Courland*, leaving Colonel *Wennerstedt* with some horse in *Samogitia*, to attend the enemy's motions.

Augustus,

Augustus, to repair the loss of his foot at *Thorn* and in other places the last year, had demanded subsidies of the Estates of *Saxony*, which they consented to the beginning of this year. By these means, an army of between twelve and fourteen thousand men was raised with great difficulty, and ordered to march into *Poland*. King *Augustus*, having waited for the arrival of twelve thousand *Russians*, who were at the same time on their march for *Kiow*, came afterwards to his *Saxon* army, immediately after they had passed the *Oder* near *Guben*. They afterwards marched into *Poland* through *Silesia*, and were posted along the frontiers, where they collected several magazines at *Kostyn* and other places.

At the same time, *Radomiki*, General of the *Great Poland*, with his brother the Constable of *Poznania*, and the Starost *Smigelski*, considerably increased the *Saxon* army by the addition of their forces. Which was the more formidable, by having General *Schulenburg* at its head, who commanded in the absence of Velt-Marshal *Steinau*.

All these circumstances raised the spirits of the confederates at *Sandomir* very high; they thought a happy revolution was at hand, and that the face of King *Augustus's* affairs would very shortly be changed.

The *Swedes* remained still masters of *Poznania*, where Major-General *Mardefeld*, and Colonel *Lillieboek* commanded a very indifferent garrison, and had frequent skirmishes with *Smigelski* a Partisan of King *Augustus*. To secure that town therefore and the confederates of the *Great Poland* from all insults, it was thought proper to send Major-General *Meyerfeld*, with
his

1704. his own and *Taub's* dragoons, both new raised regiments, and almost entirely composed of *Germans*, chiefly *Silesians*. To these was likewise added the regiment of horse of *North Scania*, under the command of Colonel *Gustavus Horn*.

Meyerfeld marched from the neighbourhood of *Dantzick* with these three regiments the 14th of *June* through *Wotzlau*, and encamped at *Tirschau* on the *Vistula*. The next day he marched to *Meve*, a little town on the *Vistula*, (three leagues) where he staid the 16th, and encamped the 17th at *Neuburg* (three leagues) on the same river. The 18th, the regiments passed by *Graudenz* to *Westphalia*, (four leagues) where they halted two days. The 21st, they past under the walls of the little town of *Schwetzwitz*, where Lieutenant-General *Poss* had taken up his winter-quarters, with part of the foot guards. They halted a little beyond this place opposite to the town of *Culm*, the quarters of fifteen hundred of the guards, and afterwards encamped at *Krottschen* (five leagues.)

The 22d, they marched to *Strelitz*, where they halted the next day. The 24th, they marched till after midnight, and advanced six leagues near the bridge before the town of *Tborn*, where they encamped, and remained the next day, in which the regiments received some provisions from the town. The 27th, they decamped, and passing through the little towns of *Putschgut* and *Gniefkow*, which last was the residence of the the Starost *Bobroniski*, Marshal of the confederacy of *Warsovia*, they encamped near the village of *Ostrow*. The 28th, sixty horse were detached to raise contributions.

The 29th, they continued their march through 1704.
Barkin, *Muttelburschitz*, and the little town of
Radziwo, where they encamped at the foot of
the Hill. The 30th, they marched three leagues
as far as *Zeminen*, where Colonel *Ducker* had a
little before encamped with the other regiments
of the King's army. The 31st, the General
halted here, and detached Captain *Bennet* with
fifty horse to raise contributions.

The 1st of *August*, the dragoons continued
their march through the little town of *Irbiza*,
where *Smigelski* had been some days before with
three hundred horse, and encamped near the
village of *Swientoslawize*. Here they halted the
2d instant, and on the 3d were joined by *Horn's*
horse, which had followed behind. The 5th,
they all decamped. *Meyerfeld's* regiment march-
ing in the van, the horse in the centre, and
Taub's dragoons bringing up the rear, (which
order they changed every day,) and marching
five leagues through very large woods, where
they met no person but a single hermit, they en-
camped near *Slesin*.

The 7th, they past through the little town of
Kletzewo to *Kofruti*, a village near the town of
Slupsia, eight leagues from *Posnania*, where
they encamped. On the 8th they rested; and
the 9th marching by the walls of *Slupsia*, they
came near the town of *Wresna*, where they halt-
ed. Here General *Meyerfeld*, having received
orders in the evening to hasten his march, de-
camped and marched all night, and the next
day till midnight, when they halted a third time
within a league of *Posnania*, at which town they
arrived early on the 11th, and encamped on a
hill before the water-gate.

1704.

King *Stanislaus* sent to inform *Meyerfeld* that he was coming to join him with the crown army, and great numbers of the gentry, who would mount their horses at his approach, in order to give chace to the *Saxons*, who had imposed very heavy contributions on all those countries. But all this project, as we shall see, came to nothing.

On the first advice which *Schulenburg* received of *Meyerfeld's* arrival with his forces, he resolved to attack him, before he could receive any reinforcement. But as he thought he should not want his whole army on this occasion, he chose out three thousand five hundred of his best horse and foot, and marched night and day, seven leagues, passing the *Warta* in his way, till he came within a league and half of *Posnania*. Notwithstanding all the precaution he took to conceal his march from *Meyerfeld's* knowledge, this General very luckily received notice of it at eleven in the evening, by a deserter from *Bareuth's* regiment. He presently ordered his men to horse, and drew out those which were in the town with four hundred foot, under the command of Colonel *Weidenbeim*, and two field-pieces. When he had taken these measures, and made his disposition, he waited all night for the enemy in order of battle.

Schulenburg failed not to pay him a visit at break of day, flattering himself that he should surprize the *Swedes*, but was struck with astonishment when he found them in so good an order: resolving however not to return without making an attempt, he ordered the attack to be begun in three different places.

General

General *Meyerfeld*, who himself commanded the right wing, which consisted of two of *Horn's* squadrons, and of four companies of his own regiment, viz. his own company, and those of *Wittinghof*, *Kerstdorf* and *Krudner*, gave them so smart a reception, that with the assistance of the two field-pieces, which were discharged continually, after having sustained three volleys, he fell on them sword in hand, broke and routed them, though double his number, and then sent *Taub* with sixteen small squadrons to pursue them. *Taub* followed the enemy near two hours, and drove them as far as a large wood. In this pursuit, the enemy had above a hundred men killed, and sixty taken prisoners.

Whilst this past in the right wing, the *Saxon* foot, being almost two thousand strong, with the rest of their horse, attacked our left wing; and as they were infinitely our superiors in foot, they forced those on our side, together with our squadrons, to retreat, after some resistance, under the cannon of *Poznamia*. Our loss was not very considerable; for the enemy instead of pursuing us, fell upon our camp, and began to plunder and set fire to our tents.

Schulenburg perceiving *Taub* returning from the pursuit, made so expeditious a retreat, and gained so much ground of us, that we could not over take him. However, Major *Rotbusen* of *Meyerfeld's* regiment was sent after them with three hundred horse. The Major retook the two field-pieces, and made several prisoners, whom he brought back, with fourteen *French* deserters, all grenadiers of *Furstenberg's* regiment.

The *Saxons*, in this action, lost near six hundred men, including the wounded and the prisoners;

1704. ners; and among the wounded, was Major-General *Brause*, with many other officers. On our side were lost three hundred men, and some standards.

Meyerfeld now resolved to draw nearer to King *Stanislaus*, foreseeing that *Schulenburg* would certainly return with all his forces. He left his wounded in the town, which he knew the enemy would not soon attack, because they were without artillery, and taking part of his baggage with him, began his march at one in the morning, and proceeded four leagues to a small town called *Podvyszca*. Here he halted the next day, and sent back Captain *Bennet* with a hundred horse to *Poznan* for the rest of the baggage, which he brought to him at noon the day following. After a stay of some days at *Podvyszca*, he decamped on the 14th about midnight, and marching all the next day, came in the evening to *Mielzin*.

The 15th, he came to *Slupia*, where *Smigelski* attacked the picket but was repulsed. In the evening, the regiments decamped, and marched all night through a great wood, where they left some waggons behind them, and came to *Klitschow*, (four leagues) where they halted some days.

Thence they marched to *Kunitza*, (three leagues) where they arrived very late. During their stay here the regimentary * *Mirzewski*, at the head of a thousand *Poles*, brought letters from *Stanislaus* and General *Horn* to *Meyerfeld*, by which he was informed that King *Augustus*

* The Colonels of the Polish and Lithuanian armies are so called. They are the absolute masters of their own regiments, whom they pay and subsist themselves out of the allowance which they receive from the Republic.

was drawn near *Warsovia*, with orders to *Meyerfeld* to go to *Lowitz* and escort the Primath, who was come thither from *Warsovia* in his way to *Dantzick* and *Tborn*. 1704.

The 20th, they marched to *Kolo*, a small town surrounded with water. The 21st, they marched the whole twenty-four hours, and came to the little town of *Lancicia*, (seven leagues) which is a very difficult pass encompassed with morasses. The 23d, they arrived before *Lowitz*, the usual residence of the Primates of *Poland*, and where the Cardinal then was. The 25th, the regiments passed through the town, and drew up on the opposite side. Then the Cardinal with his retinue came down from the castle, and went in his coach between *Meyerfeld's* and *Horn's* regiments. In which posture the march was continued, and they came the first day to *Tokaring*, a village on the *Vistula*.

The 26th, they proceeded to *Wladislaw*, where the Lieutenant-Colonel of *Meyerfeld's* regiment was ordered the next day with two hundred horse to escort the Cardinal to *Tborn*. The 28th, General *Meyerfeld* followed with the regiments, and passed through the little towns of *Nizerwa* and *Radzunsek*. The 29th, he continued his march to *Tborn*, and passing thro' that city, came to the village of *Mokre*, where the King of *Sweden* took up his head-quarters in the last siege. The 30th, the regiments were quartered in *Tborn*, where we will leave them for some time, and return to *Pofnania*.

Meyerfeld was no sooner gone than the whole *Saxon* army approached, and encamped on the *Warta* within half a league of the town, where *Schulenburg* halted, till he could throw a bridge over the river. An exchange was now

1704. made of the *Swedish* and *Saxon* prisoners taken in the late action ; and the town and garrison were kept very closely blocked up.

The King of *Sweden* being joined by *Rhein-schild's* army quitted *Sendomir*, and demolished the works which the *Saxons* had lately raised. Thence he marched for *Jaroslaw*, whither King *Augustus* was retired. The army proceeded three leagues that day, as far as the village of *Pilkof*, where they encamped on two lines. They then continued their march towards *Przydel* (three leagues) on the river *San*, opposite the town of *Ulanow* ; thence to *Skarzina*, (three leagues) and coasting all along the *San*, encamped the next day at *Wicizewice*, (two leagues and a half.)

Count *Stenbock*, one of our Major-Generals, was detached from the army to *Jaroslaw*, with orders to lay up a magazine there, and to enquire after King *Augustus*, who, with his *Muscovite* succours just arrived, had departed from that place at approach of our army ; leaving behind him Lieutenant-General *Brand*, the better to cover his retreat, and observe and obstruct our march.

The King of *Sweden* soon followed *Stenbock*, and encamped near *Jaroslaw*, whence during his stay of a few days, he sent out several parties for provision, with orders likewise to lay the territories of *Oginski* and the other adherents to *Augustus*, on the frontiers of *Hungary* under contribution.

King *Augustus* directed his route towards *Sokal* and *Zamosc*. He sent twelve thousand *Muscovites* into the neighbourhood of *Bresztzia*, a pass on the frontiers of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, whilst himself with eight thousand *Cossacks*, his
Saxon

1704.

Saxon troops, and those under *Brand*, drew towards *Lublin*; for he had got so much the start of us, that he had a full liberty of marching where he pleased.

But all the care which that monarch took to conceal his march from the King of *Sweden*, could not divert the intelligence which the latter received from the parties of *Poles* and *Valoches*, who were continually at his heels, and who surprized near *Zamosc* two *Saxon* Lieutenant-Colonels, three Captains, two Lieutenants, eight Non-commissioned officers, and some soldiers and servants, who were made prisoners, as they were returning from the funeral of a *Saxon* Colonel.

Count *Stenbock* had, in this interval, been at *Lemberg* or *Leopol*, to exact contributions of that town in the name of his *Swedish* Majesty; which were very haughtily refused, and the Count not admitted within the gates. *Galeski*, the Palatine of *Calis*, whom *Augustus* had made Governor of this town, relying on immediate and powerful succours from *Mazeppa*, the Great General of the *Cossacks*, had encouraged the magistrates and citizens to behave in that insolent manner, for which he was afterwards the chief sufferer. He had formerly incurred his Majesty's displeasure by his fraudulent embassy at the court of *Sweden* at the beginning of this war, to which he is accused of having very much contributed.

His Majesty, who was desirous of engaging the *Cossacks*, did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity, and leaving *Rheinschild* behind him near *Leopol* with twelve regiments, six of horse and six of foot, till farther orders, he decamped with fifteen regiments from *Jaroslaw*, and

1704. marched the first day to *Saleskavola*, (three leagues) where the King left the foot and artillery, and continued his march with the horse and dragoons thro' the town of *Javarow* to *Noviejezow*, (five leagues.)

All the baggage was now committed to the charge of a party of horse, and in the afternoon, the King advanced with three regiments of dragoons only, intending to be early the next morning before *Leopol*, in order to surprize the town, or at least hinder *Mazeppa*, who was said to be on his march, from throwing any succours into it.

This was a very laborious march; for they were obliged to cross a thick wood, where a heavy rain encreased the darkness which the night and the trees would otherwise have occasioned, and caused the troops to separate from one another. To prevent any accident from thence, the King was forced to halt about midnight and to light fires, and give a signal by sound of trumpet, to call together his men. He then wrapt himself up in his cloak, and lay down on the ground between a Colonel's legs. The young prince of *Wurtemberg* did the same, and they both had a good night's rest, though the rain wet them to their skins.

At break of day, the King ordered his trumpets to sound, and continuing his march, arrived about nine within a league of *Leopol*, where his Majesty halted till his troops came up. Our march being thus retarded, the enemy received timely advice of our approach, whereupon, seeing the disappointment of the project which he had formed to surprize the town, and the violent fatigue of his troops, the King thought proper to let them rest that day near a village,

village, and on the next marched towards the town. Some *Polish* troops belonging to *Wisniowski* the elder, and the Referendary of the crown shewed themselves and fired on us at a great distance; but on the approach of our Van-guard, they ran away full speed, and we saw no more of them. 1704.

His Majesty then brought up his horse in two columns, and invested the town on all sides, approaching in person almost home to the walls of the place, which he went round to discover the properest quarter for the attack. *Galeski* and *Camminski* the Governor reduced the suburbs to ashes, and then made a continual fire on our troops both from the ramparts and from a fortified cloyster, by which Adjutant-General *Hielm* was wounded in the thigh, and a Captain, a Lieutenant, and some horses were killed.

This town, which the *Poles* called *Luwow*, and the *Germans* *Lemberg*, is the capital of the *Red-Russia*, and is situated on the river *Pettan*, fifteen leagues from the *Carpatian* mountains. A very wealthy place, and in itself of great importance. It is large and well fortified after the *Polish* fashion, but surrounded with nothing but woods. Here is a kind of citadel, or rather a fortified cloyster. On another side are the ruins of an old castle on an hill which commands the town; which the King cast his eyes on as one of the places proper to draw out his men for the attack.

Leopol had formerly stood a siege of three months together by an army of an hundred thousand *Turks* and *Tartars*, without being taken; so that in a vaunting phrase it called itself a Virgin Fortrefs, till *Charles XII.* without foot, and without artillery, took it by storm

1704. storm with two or three regiments of dragoons in a few hours.

The King having assembled the Colonels of his dragoons in the evening, declared to them his intentions of attacking the town at that part we have mentioned, without staying either for his foot or artillery. The officers then received their orders, and the regiments were drawn out in order of battle between the castle and the town, where the necessary ammunition for the attack was distributed amongst them.

Early in the morning, the attack was begun on the polygon of the fortified cloyster, which we were obliged to make ourselves absolute masters of, as we were to pass over it; beyond was a flat-bottomed ditch, and a rampart, which between two bastions presented us a *Galerie à meurtrières*. Behind this rampart was a ditch filled with water, which was to be crossed before we arrived at the town walls. Over this ditch was a bridge, but the enemy could pull it up at their pleasure.

On this bridge the King, whose penetration nothing could escape, had cast his eye. He past that night without sleep, carefully instructing his officers and soldiers, and gave them the usual word: *With God's assistance*. The horse patrolled with great diligence the whole night round the town; and at the break of day, the attack was begun in the following manner.

A Captain with fifty men marched first up to the cloyster, and after a short resistance made themselves masters of it. Baron *Crassau*, leaving the cloyster on one side, fell directly on the gallery between the two bastions. He had Colonel *Buchwald* on his right, and Colonel *Ducker* on his left; before each of whom marched a Lieutenant with twenty-four men, supported by
a Cap-

a Captain with fifty, and several carpenters with hatchets, with which they were to demolish the gallery. *Crassau* was wounded in the head as he past by the cloyster, and was forced to be conveyed out of the field. 1704.

Colonel *Buchwald* then began the attack with great valour and conduct. He mounted the ramparts, and with his grenades drove off the enemy, who endeavoured to prevent our carpenters from opening the gallery, which was very briskly pushed at the other two attacks.

The King and Prince of *Wurtemberg* were the first who mounted the assault. This brave young Prince with his pistol in his belt, kept close to the King, who was soon on the top of the rampart. The officers who followed him earnestly entreated his Majesty not to expose himself to such apparent danger; but they received no other answer, than, *That it could not be avoided, and it was his duty to stay with them.*

The enemy perceiving all was lost there, attempted to escape over the bridge, which led into the town; but the King, who, as we have said, had continually kept his eye on it, hastened thither with his sword drawn, and pursued them so closely, that he entered the town with them, and cut all to pieces who endeavoured to resist.

Our troops, which were under the exactest discipline, and taught to behave with moderation in their conquest, stopt all at once and drew up in the market-place. There were indeed some few houses plundered, of which his Majesty was himself in a manner the innocent cause, by detaching at first several companies under the command of Count *Torstenfon*, Adjutant-General, with orders to visit all the ramparts; on which occasion, some dragoons quit-
ted

1704. ted their ranks, and fell to plunder, but this was quickly put an end to.

The garrison consisting of six or seven hundred men, besides the citizens, were made prisoners. The Governor endeavouring to save himself in his night-gown in a cloyster, was taken by the *Drabans*, together with many other officers who there lay concealed, in which number was old Major-General *Berentz*. Count *Stenbock*, as soon as he came up, immediately knew *Galeski*, and accosting him with these words: *Ab! my good old gentleman, are we met here at last?* he gave him two good blows, in return for his having formerly spoke ill of him at *Dantzic*.

In the arsenal we took a hundred and seventy one pieces of cannon, with a quantity of arms and ammunition. The streets were filled with the joyful acclamations of a great number of *Turkish* and *Tartar* slaves, whom his Majesty released out of their prisons. As to the inhabitants, Count *Stenbock* declared to them in his Majesty's name, that they should pay him three hundred thousand crowns for their obstinacy. A sum which they were rich enough to have paid, and had already begun to collect it, when, at the instances of King *Stanislaus*, half of it was remitted to them, a circumstance which greatly contributed to advance that prince in their favour.

The 28th, all the regiments which had staid behind with the artillery and baggage being come up to *Leopol*, the King withdrew and encamped his army at some distance from the town, to see whether *Mazeppa* would have the courage to attack us; but this General hearing

hearing on his march, that *Augustus*, forgetting 1704.
his promise to wait for him at *Sokal*, in order to
act for the future in conjunction with him, had
left that place and was gone towards *Lublin*, pre-
sently turned about and returned into the
Ucrain.

As the great point of *Augustus* was to drive
his competitor *Stanislaus* out of *Warsovia*, he let
the King of *Sweden* alone, and endeavoured to
join his *Saxon* army near *Poznania*; for which
purpose, taking with him his *German* horse and
a party of *Cossacks*, he past the *Vistula* at *Mazi-
ziowice*, and directed his route towards *Warsovia*,
whilst General *Brand*, who remained on this
side the river, marched towards *Praag*, the
suburbs of *Warsovia*.

King *Stanislaus*, who was now on his way to
Great Poland to join Mr. *Meyerfeld*, on the first
notice of this march, returned hastily to *War-
sovia* on the 18th of *August*, to withdraw his
Queen, Madam Royal, his mother and his
children. On his arrival, he summoned a coun-
cil of war very early in the morning at the
great General's, Prince *Lubomirski*, to consider of
proper measures to be taken in the present con-
juncture. Lieutenant-General *Horn* being pre-
sent, advised courageously to face King *Au-
gustus* with the crown-army, and what horse
and foot they had, and force him to a battle be-
fore he was joined by *Brand*. This he repre-
sented as a step not more glorious than necessa-
ry to be taken.

This motion was much relished by *Stanislaus*
and some other of the grandees of the king-
dom; but Prince *Lubomirski*, either through
fear, or because he had already resolved to re-
turn to King *Augustus*'s party, or perhaps from
both

1704. both these motives united, persisted in opposing it, pretending that there were scarce two *Polish* companies whose loyalty was to be depended on.

All this did not prevent General *Horn* from sending immediate orders to a Major, who with four hundred foot had been posted some time at *Latowice*, seven leagues from *Warsovia*, where he was to raise contributions, and secure a quantity of provisions, to return with great speed and reinforce him with his party. But when they heard that *Brand* had already invested *Latowice* on all sides, a place sufficiently tenable by reason of the morasses which environ it, a resolution was taken at *Warsovia* of marching to the relief of the Major.

With this view King *Stanislaus*, attended by Prince *Alexander Sobieski*, Prince *Lubomirski*, Great-General, by his brother the Chamberlain, and several other Lords past over the bridge on the *Vistula* at the head of the crown-army. And, as *Stanislaus* thought himself in no security in the midst of the *Poles*, *Horn* gave him all his horse.

This General flattering himself that King *Stanislaus* would soon return with success, did not break down the bridge on the *Vistula*, but employed the four hundred and eighty *Swedes* which remained with him in making all the necessary preparations for a stout defence, in case of an attack on the town-side from King *Augustus*.

The two Ambassadors *Wachslager* and *Palmberg*, with the Bishop of *Poznania*, shut themselves up in the castle. King *Stanislaus's* family, namely, the Queen his spouse, Madam Royal his mother, and the two Princesses *Anne* and *Mary*, attended by the Palatines of *Siradia*,
Lancizia,

Lancizia, *Podlachia* and their spouses, by the Great-Treasurer *Sapieha* and other Lords, they had already on the 19th of *August*, in the evening, set out for *Prussia* and *Elbing*. 1704.

The project of relieving the Major did not succeed: for before the arrival of *Stanislaus*, *Brand* had already drained the morass round *Latorowice*, by which means, our garrison being unable to defend themselves, were obliged, after they had retreated to the churchyard, to surrender themselves at discretion.

After *Brand* had accorded them this condition, his *Cossacks* fell on a party of them, and cut them to pieces in the most barbarous manner. King *Stanislaus*, who had advice of all this, continued his march, and in the evening encamped withing a short quarter of a league of *Brand*. His Majesty was very eagerly desirous of attacking him, but no arguments or entreaties were capable of shaking *Lubomirski*; so that the enemy's General had the happiness to escape that night; he went directly to *Praag*, in order to join King *Augustus* at *Warsovia*.

Horn was already invested, and had hardly time to break down part of the bridge, when King *Stanislaus* acquainted him with the impossibility of his receiving any succours. *Brand*, on his arrival, presently repaired the bridge, and joined the King his master. General *Horn*, with only the four hundred and eighty *Swedes*, and some of King *Stanislaus*'s new levies, made at first a very stout defence in the town; but as he was incapable of maintaining himself here any time, he retired into the castle, where being summoned by King *Augustus*, he answered, That he would defend himself to the last extremity. The enemy then began to batter the castle,

1704. castle, and to throw red-hot bullets into it, which set fire to several places, but a violent shower of rain extinguished it every where as soon as kindled, so that they did but little damage.

General *Brand* past the *Vistula* with six thousand men, and summoned *Horn* again to surrender: he was obliged to submit, for they had now cut off all supplies of water, so that he could no longer extinguish the fires which they made.

He therefore sent some officers to the enemy, to settle the article of capitulation: and demanded to have the Bishop of *Posnania* and Mr. *Wachslager* comprized therein, though the latter, being born at *Tborn*, was looked on as a rebel.

The following conditions were at length agreed on.

1. That the whole garrison should remain prisoners of war.
2. That General *Horn* and his officers should keep their arms and all their effects.
3. That the soldiers should be allowed as much baggage as they could carry.
4. That neither General *Horn* or his officers should be insulted, or in the least molested by any of the *Cossacks* or *Poles*.
5. That all those who had formerly served King *Augustus* should be pardoned, provided they were not deserters.

Mr. *Horn* had caused the 4th article to be inserted on account of the slaughter made by the *Cossacks* at *Latowice*, and the cruelties shewn to eighty *Swedes*, whom they had met in their route.

General

General *Horn* marched out with his garrison 1704. consisting of eight hundred men, all, except the officers, being disarmed. He was himself on horseback, but alighted as he pass'd by the King, to pay his respects to him. The soldiers were all conveyed into *Saxony*; but the Bishop of *Poznania*, whose house and effects were all plundered, was sent to *Rome* to receive his sentence from the Pope. General *Horn* was suffered on his parole to go to the King of *Sweden* and acquaint him with what had pass'd, after which he was to return to *Leipsick*, where he was to remain a prisoner till he should be exchanged.

King *Stanislaus* in the mean time continued his march, and pass'd by *Lublin* towards *Jaroslaw*, to join General *Rbeinschild*, who, after his separation from the King of *Sweden*, decamped with six regiments of horse and six of foot the 1st of *September*, and marched to *Biala*, and thence on the 2d to *Czieffanow*, a little town where *Stanislaus* found him. That King, taking an escort of horse with him, and being attended by Prince *Alexander Sobieski*, set out for *Leopol*, where he safely arrived on the 8th of that month, and whither Mr. *Horn* came likewise under a *Saxon* escort on the 12th.

As to what concerns *Lubomirski*, the Great General, he retreated on the 16th with the crown-army towards *Reschow*, where he had a castle belonging to him, and distributed his troops in the adjacent parts, pretending, that the season was so far advanced that he could no longer keep the field.

On the other side, Lieutenant-General *Schulenburg*, having staid some time before *Poznania*, decamped with his army, and marched

1704. towards *Warsovia*, in order to join King *Augustus*. This gave the town a little relief, which was afterwards rendered more compleat by the departure of *Radomicki*, the General of *Great Poland*, towards *Kostin*, from the bridge on the *Warta*, which station he had hitherto held with some hundred horse. This gave General *Mardefeld* an opportunity to send out a party, which burnt the bridge, and likewise a large quantity of fascines which the *Saxons* had gathered together.

The Governor made use of this time to bring forage and all sorts of provisions into the town, which however cost him no small trouble; for the enemy's parties secured the whole country, and *Radomicki* had forbid the nobility assembled at *Skroda*, to supply the town with any provisions on pain of death.

Major-General *Meyerfeld*, who had kept himself hitherto at *Tborn*, as soon as he heard that *Schulenburg* had quitted *Posnania*, and that *Radomicki* with his troops was encamped at a place called *Stenziewa*, at no more than two leagues distance from it, made all imaginable haste towards him, and the better to disguise his march, he dressed his Van-guard in the *Saxon* fashion, and took with him all the *Poles* whom he met on the road.

He left *Tborn* at two in the morning, at the head of the three regiments we have mentioned, having first sent his sick to *Elbing*. He arrived at *Zeita* by noon, (three leagues) where he halted in the open field till the evening, and then renewed his march, which he continued all night through very large woods. The regiments arrived at break of day at the village of *Wallopitza*, whence they marched to the little town

town of *Labezin*, where they passed the next night. 1704.

On the 8th of *September* in the morning, they continued their march through *Zuin*, a small town, in their way to *Loppino*, and thence advanced three leagues to *Powelziska*, whence they arrived by night within a league of *Posnania*, where they halted. At last they came before the town; the Governor surprized at seeing Mr. *Meyerfeld*, let them immediately pass through the town in their way to *Stenziewa*. Major-General *Mardefelt* presently followed, and they arrived on a gallop by six in the morning.

Mr. *Meyerfeld* instantly attacked the Polish camp, where were three thousand Saxons belonging to *Schulenburg's* army. The Poles had scarce time to mount their horses, and were forced to ride without their saddles, which they did with such expedition, that though we pursued them for two hours, we could kill or overtake but a very few. We found their camp well furnished with provisions, tents, horses and baggage, all which were given us to plunder.

After this expedition was over, our men stood two hours in order of battle, after which, having set fire to their camp, they marched to *Kunerzewo*, a fine house belonging to Mr. *Radomicki* Constable of *Posnania*, and brother to the General. Here they staid a few days, during which they sent twelve pair of kettle-drums, and two standards, which they had taken from the enemy, to *Posnania*. The 13th, General *Meyerfeld* decamped in the evening from *Kunerzewo*, marched all night, and returned the 14th of *September* at break of day to *Posnania*, where he quartered his men in the suburbs.

1704.

As King *Augustus* was resolved on the siege of this place, Lieutenant-General *Brand* received order to invest it, and General *Patkul*, with some thousand *Russians*, was commanded to join him.

Brand having left *Warsovia*, arrived some days after *Meyerfeld* returned to *Posnania*. He posted himself at the same place where *Schulenburg* had encamped before, and where there had been a bridge over the *Warta*, but it was destroyed by *Mardefeld*.

On the news of *Meyerfeld*'s having detached Colonel *Gustavus Horn* with six hundred horse towards *Coslin*, and that the rest of the horse were out after forage, *Brand* resolved to cut them off, or at least to prevent them from foraging: for which purpose he detached two thousand *Poles* and *Saxon* cuirassiers on *Michaelmas-day* to attack them; and ordered some other *German* and *Polonese* troops to pass the *Warta* at a ford, which the shallowness of the current now permitted, and oppose any succours which the *Swedes* should attempt to send to their foragers.

Almost two thousand had already pass'd the river, when *Meyerfeld*, who had received notice of this expedition, marched up to them with a squadron of his horse, namely, his own troop, and those of Lieutenant-Colonel *Bolih* and the Major, amounting in the whole to three hundred and fifty men or thereabouts. Lieutenant-Colonel *Trautfetter* and Count *Gyllenstolpe*, who commanded the van-guard, consisting of a Captain and seventy dragoons only, received their fire, and then attacked them so briskly sword in hand, that they were soon broke and driven in confusion

confusion into the water. In this action many of them fell, especially of *Bareuth's* dragoons. 1704.

When *Meyerfeld* came up, *Brand*, who was on the other side of the water, contented himself with being a looker on, without attempting to assist those of his party who had pass'd. So that *Meyerfeld's* Squadron stood motionless, directly opposite to the enemy, till all the foragers who were commanded by Major *Burmman*, and had been dispersed, were returned.

When these *Poles* who had passed the river heard of the blow which had been given on the *Warta*, they retreated, and suffered the *Swedes* to pass without any molestation. We lost very few men on this occasion; and Count *Gyllenstolpe*, who was wounded in the arm, was the only officer hurt.

We took a pair of kettle-drums and a *Polish* standard from the enemy, whose troops amounted, according to the report of the prisoners, to sixteen thousand; namely, four thousand *Saxon* troopers, two thousand three hundred of *Brand's* troops, and the rest were *Russians*, *Poles* and *Cossacks*.

As it was known that the *Saxons* had absolutely determined on the siege of *Posnania*, Major-General *Meyerfeld* thought proper to enter that town with his three regiments, since the suburbs were so far from being defensible, that we could not secure ourselves there from the danger of being surprized. We then made all the necessary preparations for the support of a long siege; but our principal fear was of a deficiency of provision.

Brand, on his part, waited only *Patkul's* arrival to attack the town in form, which though its condition was not equal to a very long re-

1704. sistance, took very obstinate resolutions of defending itself to the last extremity.

One evening, whilst the camp near *Leopol* lay in the utmost security, Prince *Wisniowski* the elder, and the Referendary of the crown, attacked us by moon-light with all imaginable fury, and with the most dreadful cries, spreading a general alarm.

The King, attended by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, hastened to the part where the enemy attempted to enter. Our foot, most of them in their shirts, drew immediately up in excellent order, with their bandaliers and swords as in a day of battle, and sustained all the efforts of the enemy, which they made on us very little more than half an hour: for having stood one single volley, they retreated in great confusion, and at length ran away full speed. We suffered nothing more than the loss of a few horses, which got loose and ran after them; indeed their true design was only to carry off our cattle, which were grazing in the front of our camp. Several of them were wounded in the attempt, but they took all away with them.

Though the town of *Leopol* had lately renewed their oath to King *Augustus*, they agreed to take another to King *Stanislaus* on his arrival, and acceded solemnly to the confederacy of *Warsovia*. The Nobility of the adjacent parts followed their example, and submitted to their new King; and as a token of their respect, returned the King of *Sweden* thirty-two *Swedes*, who had been taken prisoners at several places. *Caminski*, the Governor, was afterwards set at liberty, and the town as before committed to his care, after he had sworn fealty to King *Stanislaus*, in which he was followed by seventeen

teen officers and the whole garrison, who all (except eighty *Saxons* who were carried prisoners along with the army) entered themselves in his Majesty's service. 1704.

We fared well in the neighbourhood of this city; it abounding with provisions, excellent fish, and noble *Hungarian* wines, which were likewise cheap on the account of its being situated so near that kingdom.

When his Majesty had learnt that *Schulenburg* had received new troops from *Saxony*, he resolved to execute a design of importance: and as he had no conveniences to remove the cannon, which were found in the arsenal of *Leopol*, he ordered them to be rendered unserviceable, as having a sufficient number for his own designs elsewhere.

After all was thus regulated in the city, his Majesty, the 13th of *September*, ordered the infantry to march before him, and the next morning he himself followed with all the cavalry. The bad roads and defiles hindered us from marching above a league an hour, till we arrived at a village called *Drobosiof*: and on the morrow, we could not reach above one more, to the village of *Mazioczin*; passing by the town of *Solkiew*, where there is a castle belonging to Prince *Constantine Sobieski*, and where he made his residence.

The 16th, the army marched to *Dobruzin*, (two leagues.) The day following we passed by the town of *Rawa* to the village of *Rebenna*, (three leagues) where the peasants for time immemorial, have a knack of curing the venereal disease: for which reason, all such as are infected with that detestable malady, resort thither from all corners of the kingdom.

1704. The King decamped from *Rebenna*, September 19, and marched on to *Tomaszów*, (three leagues and a half) from thence to the village of *Labonie* (three leagues) near *Zamość*, one of the strongest places of *Poland*, having high walls, a deep ditch, and good fortifications; which encouraged the Lord of that place, who is called Prince, to refuse a passage to the Count *de Stenbock* in 1703, and even to the troops of King *Augustus* this very year. But, when his *Swedish* Majesty approached, he behaved in a quite different manner: sending his brother to complement the King, making the humblest excuses possible with regard to the Count *de Stenbock*; and when the party which his Majesty had sent under Lieutenant-Colonel *Claes Bonde* approached the place, ordering the gates to be instantly opened. At the same time the garrison laid down their arms, and the Burghers offered immediately to pay the fifty thousand crowns, which had been demanded of them by way of contribution to the army.

It is impossible to express what the troops suffered during this march: the soil being flat and marshy, the baggage was mired every moment, and the wretched inhabitants being all fled for the greatest part of the time, we were in want of all necessaries; especially, when the cavalry had marched on before to *Wingerow*; for they devoured all before them, and for whole days together we found nothing either to eat or drink.

From *Zamość* the army advanced to the village of *Mokereu*, (three leagues) from thence to *Dworizow*, (three more) where the King leaving the foot behind, to march more at leisure,

leisure, proceeded on before with the cavalry, 1704.
(three leagues) to *Wisiofski*.

General *Rbeinschild*, whom King *Stanislaus* had rejoined, always accompanied his Majesty. He had marched *Sept. 7.* from *Cziesanow* to *Zanck*, and the day following to *Kniespoli*, where he rested till the 22d, when he set out from *Pilkowa*, and the next day for the little town of *Gorce*. The 26th, he proceeded to *Biskopi*, and from thence, the 27th, to *Kielkowice*; where he was within a quarter of a league of the King's army, which lay on one hand of him, and the *Vistula* on the other.

September 27. his *Swedish* Majesty decamped with the cavalry from *Wisiofski*, and marched on to the village of *Strzizewice*: the next morning to *Belcice*, where the Reformed have a church, thence to the village of *Palike*, (three leagues) some leagues distant from *Lublin*, where the Count *de Stenbock* was posted with a large detachment to furnish the army with provisions. The 30th, the King proceeded by *Rekzin* (four leagues and a half) to *Baranow*, (one league) where they hastily threw a bridge across the *Wieper*: over which they passed on to the village of *Dronezow*, which is half a league farther.

About this time King *Augustus* lay with all his forces on the other side of the *Bug*, in the neighbourhood of *Pultowsk*, from whence his parties made continual excursions as far as *Lublin*, to be the better assured of what route his *Swedish* Majesty had taken. Our detachments often rencountred theirs, and always with advantage, carrying off many prisoners.

The Count *de Stenbock* arrived *October 2.* with his detachment, which he had conducted from *Leopol* by the city of *Lublin*: not without being harassed

1704. harassed on the road, a great party of *Valoches* having, that very day, attacked his baggage near *Baranow*; but were so briskly received, that after many of them were killed and wounded, they were obliged to retire in the greatest confusion.

His Majesty having learnt by the *Polish* and *Saxon* prisoners, which our detachments brought in every day to the camp, in what manner King *Augustus* had disposed his quarters in the neighbourhood of *Pultowsk*, resolved to repair thither as fast as possible. Accordingly, *October* 4. he marched (four leagues and a half) to *Zelikow*; thence, the next day (four and a half more) to *Lepini*; and the next (five leagues) to *Wingerow*, a little town, where a handful of *Lutherans* have a church.

The King having learnt, as well by the inhabitants as a *Saxon* Captain of horse, (who had delayed too long following his detachments, and who was made prisoner with six other of his troop) that a party of *Saxons* had marched by night out of *Wingerow*, detached in the evening Colonel *Creutz*, with nine hundred horse in pursuit of them. The King himself followed, accompanied by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, and, after having marched all night, arrived early in the morning at *Wiskowa*, where he had hoped to surprize them. But the *Saxons*, who were commanded by Colonel *Henschin*, had discovered the net, and already repassed the *Bug*, leaving only a few valets, and baggage-boys behind them. The King then posted himself in a little town called *Caminiez*, situated on the side of the river, and as the water was very low, he passed over a detachment of *Valoches*, who advanced

vanced even to *Pultowsk*, and returned with certain prisoners. 1704.

King *Augustus*, terrified at the approach of the *Swedes*, immediately resolved to quit a place which had been so fatal to him the year before, and marching to the side of the *Vistula* opposite to *Wishegorod*, caused a bridge to be thrown over, which he passed forthwith, and afterwards assembled his army in the neighbourhood of the little towns.

October 7. His *Swedish* Majesty having left Colonel *Creutz* and his detachment at *Caminez*, returned to *Wingerow*, accompanied by the Prince of *Wurtemberg* and certain officers: where having no troops but horse, the infantry not having had time to come up, he took the whole body with him in the morning, and after a toilsome march of nine leagues, reached *Radzimin*, which is but three leagues from *Warsovia*, being all the way in hopes of surprizing King *Augustus*, and forcing him to a battle.

To this end, when he was at *Radzimin*, he pushed on with four regiments of dragoons, the nearest way towards the *Bug*. Where, when he was arrived, and saw on the opposite side a strong guard of *Saxons*, he ordered Lieutenant-Colonel *Funk* with certain foot to pass the river in little boats to dislodge them, and post themselves on the same spot: which they did after a very slight resistance, the enemy having one Captain, and certain soldiers killed. A bridge was then immediately thrown across the river; over which Colonel *Ducker* passed with two regiments of dragoons, detaching parties on all sides to discover the enemy; who, on their return, reported that they were retired in great confusion

1704. confusion over the *Vistula*, having broke down the bridge behind them.

King *Stanislaus*, with General *Rheinschild* and his army of twelve regiments, were now arrived at *Praag*, a suburb of *Warsaw*. They had passed by the town of *Belcice* to *Konskavice*, and arrived *October 1.* at *Kosmin*, a little town on the river of *Weips*; the 2d, they proceeded to *Richella*; the 3d, to *Walazulakowska*; the 4th, to *Latovice*; the 5th, to *Kaluzino*; the 6th, to *Minsko*; the 8th, to *Okumow*, with the cavalry; and the 10th, King *Stanislaus* and General *Rheinschild* arrived at *Praag*. They were soon after followed by the infantry of the King's army, which had been retarded in their route, as we have seen, by the bad roads from the city of *Leopol*.

General *Stenbock* also arrived at *Praag* with his detachment, and all these regiments posted themselves in the adjacencies, as fast as they arrived. Of which when the King was informed, he posted to *Praag*, and ordered all the necessary preparations to be made for throwing two bridges over the *Vistula*.

King *Augustus*, on his side, being exactly opposite to *Warsaw*, exerted himself to the utmost to render the passage both difficult and dangerous. For which purpose he ordered his troops to work night and day, in fortifying two little islands in the *Vistula*, which are situated at the two extremes of the city, causing an * *epaulement* to be stretched along the river from one to the other. And at the same time commanding parties to patrol round and round the city of *Warsaw*, at the distance of five or six leagues:

* A species of fortification which takes its name from *Epaule*, a shoulder.

from

from whence, if we might judge by appearances, this passage would become a second controversy of the *Duna*. 1704.

As our parties, after the exactest search for a proper place to pass the *Vistula*, had found one, about four leagues above *Warsaw*, where the enemy was posted in a little island, with some infantry, and two pieces of cannon, a detachment was sent thither under the umbrage of a dark night, who surprized them, and almost cut the whole party in pieces; taking two lieutenants and fifteen soldiers prisoners, and carrying off their two pieces of cannon.

Tho' the two armies were near enough to talk to each other, that of *Saxony* hardly ever fired upon us, and ours never upon them.

It is proper to remark here, that, as King *Augustus* visited every day on horseback the works he had ordered, he once happened to come in sight of his *Swedish* Majesty, and King *Stanislaus*, who were likewise on horseback on our side of the *Vistula*, opposite to an island where the *Saxons* had a battery. It happened too that they stopped, as, if by consent, at the same time; during which interval, the officers, in the train of these Princes, held a conference with each other, and when it ended, took their leaves on both sides with great politeness; neither of the Monarchs interfering, or making themselves known. *

When

* Hitherto the story of this interview has been told in the following manner. The King of *Sweden*, say they, King *Stanislaus*, and the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, being in an island upon the

Vistula, King *Augustus* appeared with his Chamberlain *Vitzthum* on the opposite shore, and cried out in *German* to the *Swedes*: *Will not you step over to us Gentlemen?* The King of *Sweden* replied,

1704.

When the bridges were finished in a manner that enabled us to march over the troops in what part of the river we would, his Majesty made choice of one about four leagues above *Warsaw*, near to the village of *Kartziow*, at a small distance from *Hoffock*, a very fine estate, with a castle, which belong to the *Bielski*; and gave orders, *October 7.* to all the nearest regiments, both horse and foot, to repair thither; the rest being commanded to march strait to *Praag*. Which was done towards night. One of these bridges was likewise instantly conducted upon fifty waggons to the same place, with a sufficient train of artillery, which last was properly disposed to scour the other side of the river.

The King of *Sweden* and King *Stanislaus*, accompanied by Prince *Alexander Sobieski*, and the Princes of *Saxe-Gotha* and *Wurtemberg*, took the first-mentioned route. Lieutenant-General *Nils Stromberg* was left commanding officer of the troops at *Praag*, and to take care of the bridge which was to be thrown over here; having with him Count *Piper*, the Chancery, and the Court.

ed, *We are not such rascals as to desert* To which *Vitzthum* added, *Is your King among you?* And was answered by the Page *Klinckowstrom*, *Yes, here he is*, pointing to his Majesty. *Vitzthum* is then said to have enquired after many persons he was acquainted with in the Court of *Sweden*, and having had his questions resolved, ended in *French*: *Gentlemen, we expect you.* To which

the Page rejoined, *Speak, Gentlemen.* And King *Augustus* then pulling of his hat, and saying, *Be absolute, Gentlemen adieu!* the conversation ended. — It is not impossible but the fact really was as it is here related: But, in my father's journal, no mention is made of the King's having shared in the dialogue, which better agrees with the character of *Charles XII.*

In the morning, before day-break, their Majesties arrived with the column of the army at *Kartziow*, where Colonel *Burenskiold* had posted himself over night. And as soon as the dawn appeared, the foot were ordered to file off towards the *Vistula*, and make ready the bridge without delay. 1704.

Upon these motions, the Crown-Referendary, who since the King's departure from *Leopol* had followed our army, with a view to harass it on its march, seeing the infantry making towards the river, made an attempt to pillage the baggage. But the King hastening thither with the cavalry, at the first fire so effectually surrounded the *Poles*, that they cut to pieces almost one company entire, who could not save themselves quick enough, and took the rest prisoners, together with the Captain who commanded them.

The *Saxons*, who had a guard of an hundred and fifty men on the other side, behind an epaulement, and the redoubts they had raised, hearing the report of fire-arms of our side, did not fail to advertise the other troops to advance, which they did, on all sides, at full speed; ranging themselves in a wood, some hundreds of paces from the banks of the river, which, on their side, was flat and sandy, to cover themselves from our cannon.

As the shore we possessed was much higher than theirs, the King, who observed this caution of the enemy, caused certain field-pieces to be planted on an eminence, while the affair of the bridge was on agitation, which so effectually played upon their epaulements and other works, and commanded the plain beyond them, that many being demolished, the troops behind retreated to the woods to join their cavalry; which

1704. which we likewise cannonaded next, and with such success, that they were obliged to penetrate yet farther in for shelter.

About noon, the bridge being compleated, his Majesty ordered a Lieutenant of his guards, with thirty grenadiers, to embark on boats, and fasten it on the other side; which they effected: but the current of the *Vistula* being become exceeding rapid by heavy rains, and the waters discharged from the *Hungarian* mountains, broke it off in the middle, the King with a hundred men being at that instant upon it; seventy of which, together with his Majesty, swimming back to our own shore, the other thirty joined the grenadier-guards who were posted on the other side: remaining exposed to the insults of the enemy, (but who, nevertheless, durst not venture to attack them) till the King had ordered over more of the infantry in boats and rafts to join them. Towards the evening his Majesty crossed the river himself, and lay on the sand all night, by a tree-side, surrounded by his soldiers; while the rest of the infantry were ferrying over to join him.

The 19th, at day-break, the King without waiting for the remainder of the foot, put himself at the head of his regiment of guards and that of *Upland*, to attack the enemy in the wood, where they had sheltered themselves; but they had provided better for their safety long before. His Majesty then resolved to proceed strait on to *Warsaw*, marching himself on foot, three leagues, as far as *Golliof*; where he re-assembled his infantry, which had been transported without intermission from *Karziow*.

The King was still in hopes to fall in with the enemy at *Warsaw*, and had in view, besides, to facilitate,

facilitate, by his approach, the passage of General *Stromberg*. But King *Augustus* was already far removed, having sent away his baggage several days before, and caused his army to file off, regiment after regiment, by the road of *Rava*, towards *Silesia*. 1704.

General *Stromberg*, on his part, had not delayed his endeavours to throw a bridge over the *Vistula*, but with much the same success as the former; the rafts to which it was fastened not being able to resist the violence of the torrent: however, by the help of a great number of boats, it was so well repaired, that it held out till the whole army and baggage were passed over: The first troops that were landed, taking instant possession of the castle, by the General's order.

When his Majesty was informed of the retreat of King *Augustus*, he wheeled with a body of infantry towards *Tarkzin*, several regiments joining him on the road. At the same time General *Rheinschild* was ordered to march with the cavalry, which had been transported near *Karziow* to *Novamiasse*, while the rest, which remained at *Karziow*, under the command of General *Welling*, returned back to *Praag* with the *Drabans*, there to pass the *Vistula*. But this could not be executed immediately, because of the breaking of the bridge, as above mentioned.

The King took the opportunity of this delay, to make a tour towards the evening to *Warsaw*, to hasten the reparations of that city; and after he had given the proper orders for the march, he set out immediately to rejoin his infantry: with whom he proceeded the next morning, *Octob. 20.* towards *Selcke*, (four leagues) where he gave orders to the rest of the

1704. infantry to advance strait on to *Rava*; it being conjectured King *Augustus* had pursued that road to *Cracow*, because we had taken many *Saxon* prisoners, who were passing thither-ward.

The 21st, the King marched from *Selcke* to *Lencice*, (two leagues) where, leaving the infantry, and accompanied only with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, and certain officers, he passed on the same night, almost from *Novamiasse* to *Gostania*, (three leagues) where General *Rheinschild* was already advanced with his cavalry.

The same day General *Welling*, after having passed the *Vistula*, marched on with the rest of the cavalry from *Warsaw* to *Naderczin*, in his way to *Rava*.

As to General *Stromberg*, he staid at *Warsaw* with several regiments of infantry, till the baggage and artillery had passed the *Vistula*; after which he followed the army.

The King having learnt that the *Saxons*, after having first taken the road to *Rava*, had changed their rout for *Lowitz*, resolved to pursue them thither. Accordingly, his Majesty, accompanied by King *Stanislaus* and the Princes of *Saxe* and *Wurtemberg*, marched with the cavalry, the first day, as far as *Drezow*, (seven leagues.) Surprizing in the road many *Saxons* and *Muscovites*, the first of which were made prisoners, and the last put to the sword.

General *Welling* marched five leagues, the same day, to *Savadia*, and the next, six and a half, to *Drezow*. From whence he proceeded to the little town of *Piontek*, situated in a morass, on the river *Bfura*, (five leagues.) Where he surprized the enemy's rear, consisting of three hundred horse who were totally defeated, and the greatest part slain. One Major being

made

made prisoner, and sixty troopers, who had not time enough to get on horseback. One of King *Augustus's* Drabans, charged with a letter to Field-Marshal *Steinan*, had likewise the same fate. 1704.

The 24th, the King rested the night near *Piontek*, where the enemy was encamped, and renewed his march next morning by break of day. Proceeding on to *Uniejow*, a little town in the Palatinate of *Lencie* in *Great Poland*, where our van again surprized the enemy's rear, which retired before us with all possible speed, and passed over the *Warta*: it being impracticable to follow them, because of the darkness of the night. General *Welling* advanced the same day to *Piontek*, and in the morning early arrived at *Uniejow*.

It was at that place King *Augustus* separated himself from his army, which he submitted to the command of Lieutenant-General *Schulenburg*, and marched towards *Cracow* with two thousand horse, in the hope to engage the King of *Sweden* in his pursuit; and thereby preserve his infantry, who could retreat no farther, on account of the dreadful marches they had already made. But his Majesty was too much a master in the art of war to be drawn into that snare; concluding it immediately to be but a feint, and resolving to follow *Schulenburg* only; which he did the same day, the 25th, to *Karłowitz*, (three leagues.) In the next morning we pushed on to *Calis*, where the enemy's rear was in view, which immediately passed over a bridge through the town, leaving but a handful of men behind, who took up the bridge in order to retard our passage.

1704. Upon which the King ordered a troop of dragoons to alight, and make themselves masters of the gate, while he himself, with the cavalry, forded the little river of *Posna* to the other side of the town, having commanded Colonel *Ducker* to hew down the gate by main force. Which was immediately put in execution: but while all hands were at work, certain Saxons, to whom we had already promised quarter, being retired to an old, ruined house, one of them fired at the Page *Klinkowstrom*, who was on horseback by the side of Colonel *Ducker*, and killed him on the spot. As the King had a great affection for him, he was extremely touched for his loss; and gave an uncommon proof of it, in ordering the corpse of the deceased to be carried after the camp; which gave place to a report through the army, that the young Prince of *Wurtemberg* was killed.

Colonel *Riebe*, a Captain of horse, three Lieutenants, and about fifty soldiers, were made prisoners in the town, without reckoning those who were put to the sword, when it was taken. That day General *Welling* marched five leagues to *Zaischir*, where he left Colonel *Buchwald* behind to reassemble those who had not been able to keep up with the rest.

The 27th, we continued our march to *Rafkow*, (five leagues) and from thence to *Krotoczin*, (three leagues) where the Saxons were preparing to encamp, in order to pass the night; not being able to imagine the Swedes could be so near them: but set out again immediately, and marched all night long, till they believed they were in safety. Nevertheless, they lost numbers of their men in this precipitate retreat; sometimes

sometimes ten, sometimes twenty, and sometimes a hundred, who could not keep up with their corps, throwing down their arms on the appearance of one single blue-coat. Two scouts, among other instances, taking twenty-five prisoners at once. 1704.

The same day, General *Welling* marched six leagues through *Calis* to *Raskow*, making likewise a great number of prisoners upon the road. But the more speedily *Schulenburg* flew, the more eagerly the King followed; advancing, Octob. 28. in the morning, five leagues, through *Cobelin* to *Poniec*, or *Punitz*, upon the frontiers of *Silesia*, where our van defeated their rear at the first onset; and pushed the advantage so home, without giving them time to rally, that *Schulenburg*, seeing no farther possibility to escape, found himself obliged to face about.

He had with him twelve battalions and four squadrons, which he ranged immediately in order of battle. His left being covered by the village of *Punitz*, and his right by a great and deep marsh. In his front he had a ditch, behind which he placed a number of waggons, and in the intervals his artillery.

It was already late, when the two armies came in sight of each other; the King, nevertheless, resolved to begin the attack, though he had with him but four regiments, that is to say, the dragoons of *Rheinschild*, *Crassau*, *Ducker*, and *Ornstedt*, all extremely tired with so severe a march. The five other regiments, which the King had sent orders to hasten, not coming up till some time after.

We immediately attacked the *Saxon* cavalry, sword in hand, so briskly, that, at the first shock, they were drove in confusion upon the

1704.

infantry who followed them: Entire battalions of the last throwing themselves on the earth, to give them way, as likewise to our troops who pursued them eagerly a good way beyond.

While the enemy's cavalry was thus flying full speed, their foot recovered themselves, and performed their duty extremely well. Our horse attacked them with all imaginable fury, and, in spite of the terrible fire which they made, and the disadvantageous situation of so many ditches and ploughed grounds, broke their lines three several times, and had totally defeated them, if the extreme darkness of the night had not prevented it. To which must be added, that the flashes of fire from the musquets, so greatly terrified the horses, that some of our squadrons were put in disorder.

The other regiments coming up at that moment, we began to rally our scattered troops, and prepare for a new attack. But the Generals thought it their duty to represent to the King, that the darkness hindering the proper dispositions, it would be impossible to succeed in it; and that, therefore, it was adviseable to postpone it till the morning.

Schulenburg, who expected the King would order his cavalry to alight, and saw nothing of that nature take place, instantly formed a square battalion of all his infantry, and began his retreat through the village of *Punitz*, which was on his left. The King, who from the first apprehended the General would take that very measure, had ordered certain troops to way-lay the enemy, and oppose their retreat. But the officer, who commanded that party, missing the road in the dark, the Saxons had leisure to retire

tire to *Gurau*, a little town about three leagues from the field of battle. 1704.

The King, who depended much on that officer, was greatly surprized in the night, at the profound tranquillity that seemed to reign in the village; whence it was manifest that the enemy was both retired, and already far off. Uneasy at this, he set out himself to examine what had happened, and found that the officer, instead of investing the village on the other side, had lost himself by the foot of a little hill, and thereby left the way open to the enemy. His Majesty appeared somewhat thoughtful upon this incident; but, without witnessing the least discontent, continued marching his troops into the village till the morning; when numbers more of sick and wounded *Saxons* were made prisoners, and a great part of the enemy's baggage, which they had left in their hurry, together with three field-pieces, fell into our hands.

There were above two hundred *Saxon* foot, and sixty of their cavalry killed, without reckoning their officers. We had a hundred killed, besides certain Captains, and about a hundred more wounded: among which were Colonel *Patkul*, the Aides-de-Camp-General *Carl Hard*, and Count *Torsten*son, and Major *During* of the regiment of *Crassau*. One Captain, named *Ehrenpreuss*, whose horse was killed under him, was taken prisoner. We likewise lost a pair of kettle-drums, and certain standards, when the fire of the musqueteers put us in disorder, as before related. The horse suffered much in that action, and many of them were killed. The same day, General *Welling* marched to *Cobelin*, six leagues. The 29th, the army did not decamp till broad day-light;

1704. but this did not, however, put a stop to the pursuit of the *Saxons*, who were now divided into many small parties, the better to conceal the rout, which the main body of their infantry had taken.

The King, having left Colonel *Crassau* at *Punitz* with his regiment of dragoons; to guard the prisoners and the wounded, and passing near the little town of *Gura*, where *Schulenburg* had passed at midnight, we marched strait on to *Ritzen* in *Silesia*, and from thence through the pass called *Bartisch*, making abundance of prisoners in the road. Though it were extremely difficult to restrain the *Valoches*, who marched in the van, from their usual custom of putting all the enemies they met with to the sword, the King forbid it on such severe penalties, that quarter was not only given to all who were taken, but they were even treated with humanity.

The *Saxons* pushed on their march so precipitately, that during the night and the next morning, they had gained six leagues upon a stretch; infomuch, that they arrived early in the evening near the *Oder*, where they instantly began (under the favour of a little hill, and a causey, which covered them) to pass that river, at the instant when our squadrons arrived in the neighbourhood of *Lutzki*.

The darkness, which now came on, was exceeding friendly to the designs of the enemy, who spent the whole night in passing over, (though many of them were drowned by the way) without any disturbance from us, there being no possibility of attacking them with success. Whence General *Schulenburg* (who, from his entry into *Poland*, had beforehand studied the

the manner of this retreat, and was besides better acquainted than we with the course of the country) found means to escape the most lively and tenacious pursuit, that ever was upon record. All the old officers, on both sides, acknowledging they had never seen any thing like it, either for the length, or the vigour with which our cavalry had attacked the enemy's foot. 1704.

His Majesty rested that night near the village of *Krangelwitz*, and, as he was now in the territories of the empire, he ordered ready money to be payed for forage and provisions of all sorts.

The same day, General *Welling* marched on to *Sembrowa*, near *Lissa*, (five leagues) and, having been informed that a party of *Muscovites* was but a little way off, detached, in the evening, Count *Erich Lowenbaupt*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment of *Senbock*, who put fifty or sixty of them to the sword, and took twelve prisoners, with certain waggons.

The 30th, the King rested at *Krangelwitz*, as well because it was *Sunday*, as to refresh his men and their horses, who were inexpressibly fatigued.

General *Welling* proceeded that day to *Frauenstadt*, (three leagues ;) and on the morrow, his van rencountred the *Russians*, marching in platoons from ten to forty in a body, who were all put to the sword : the *Swedes* still treading on the heels of those before, till at last they surprized the whole party to which they belonged, in a village above *Frauenstadt*.

As our van was not strong enough to attack them, they had time to barricade themselves within their waggons, under the cover of eleven pieces

1704 pieces of brass-cannon. But when General *Welling* came up with his whole force, he charged them immediately, in spite of the fire of their cannon and small arms, both with his horse, and a large body of dragoons on foot, driving them from one house to another, and at last setting fire to the houses themselves, where they were all destroyed except one Major, one Lieutenant, and four soldiers, who received quarter : All their baggage being pillaged by the soldiers.

At first we did not believe that above six or seven hundred *Russians* had been slain ; but the Burgomaster who had them buried, reckoned nine hundred and twelve, exclusive of those who perished in the flames.

Some days after, we discovered certain others, who had hid themselves, and were now made prisoners. Among whom were one sub-altern, and twelve soldiers, who, having the honour to perform their exercise before the King, his Majesty was so pleased with them, that he took them into his service, and they afterwards belonged to his stables.

We lost in this action Count *Erich Lowenbaupt*, Lieutenant-Colonel, a Captain of horse, a Quarter-master, and twenty men. Colonel *Burenskiold*, two Captains of horse, and about forty men being wounded. General *Welling* designed to have advanced yet farther in the morning ; but the King having enjoined him to continue there till farther orders, he quartered his men in *Frauenstadt*, and the neighbouring villages.

King *Augustus* having remarked at his quitting *Warsaw*, that the King of *Sweden's* design was fixed on pursuing him, sent orders to

Patkul

Patkul to raise the siege of *Posnania*. Which he obeyed forthwith, dividing his army into several corps, and making all possible hast into *Silesia* : One of which had the misfortune to be defeated in the rencontre, before spoken of. And here it will not be impertinent to introduce the following curious piece relating to that siege. 1704.

Extracts from a very circumstantial journal, writ by the Baron de Mardefeld, Major-General, touching what passed before, and during the siege of Posnania, An. 1704.

When I learned from *Breslau*, that the Saxon troops assembled themselves near *Guben*, and was entirely persuaded they would fall upon *Great Poland*, to the apparent hazard of *Posnania*, the fortifying of which had been stopped ever since autumn, by express order from the King, I resolved to repair thither : and so much the more, as I could neither join General *Rheinschild*, who was at that time encamped near *Sandomir*, nor the army under my command. Being convinced, beside, that in ones Sovereign's service, all places were alike, and that a man ought not to sit with his arms across, when he found an opportunity to be useful.

On these considerations I set out for *Posnania*, and arrived there *May 17*. In passing by *Lissa*, I had already learnt that several *Polish* companies, and about a hundred Saxons, encamped at *Calis*, had received orders to march to *Posnania*. And, at my arrival, Colonel *Lilliebok* confirmed the same thing ; as likewise, that the Saxon army was on the point of passing the *Oder*, to the number of sixteen thousand men ;

1704. men ; according to the report of our correspondents at *Breslau*, at *Berlin*, and from Count *Mellin*, Field-Marshal and Governor of *Pomerania*.

The first thing we did, therefore, was to send out a detachment of horse and foot, who furnished us with sixty head of cattle, and three hundred sheep. Some days after *Smigelski* carried off our officers horses, which were sent out to forage. We immediately dispatched a party both of horse and foot to recover them, but as the enemy had already gained the wood, it was not possible to overtake him.

The day before, the regimentary *Dobrosolski* arrived in the evening, (with three hundred *Polish* horse, who encamped at *Swartzens*, a large league from *Pofnania*) and offered himself, as soon as he had heard of the exploit of *Smigelski*, to pursue him. I asked him, how he thought he should be able to come up with him ? To which he replied, That as he had not been pursued, he would not fail to send his horses to forage on the side of *Costyn*, six leagues from *Pofnania*, and that, if I would furnish him with only a hundred horse of the garrison to support him, he would answer for the success.

Upon this I agreed to his request ; but as I could not entirely depend upon the *Poles*, I gave the command of the detachment to Lieutenant-Colonel *Hagen*, in the service of *Holstein-Gottorp* ; who had not only the happiness to overtake *Smigelski*, but defeat him, though he had sixty *Saxon* troopers with him, pursuing him even to *Costyn*, and taking several *Poles* and *Saxons* prisoners. But, as to the horses they were totally lost, *Smigelski* having sent them on before.

Some

Some days after, having received letters from Lieutenant-General *Horn* at *Warsaw*, recommending to me that regimentary, who lay by to refresh himself and his men in expectation of their arrival, I resolved with Colonel *Lillieboek* to surprize *Costyn*. Accordingly, Lieutenant-Colonel *Waidenbeim* marched thither with three hundred foot, three field-pieces, and a hundred and thirty horse of the garrison, together with *Dobrosolski* and his *Polanders*. But the enemy having received notice of our design, and put themselves on their guard, the situation of *Costyn* almost surrounded with a marsh, being besides very advantageous for the defendants, the whole party returned without attempting any thing. And, a few days after, that regimentary received orders from the Crown-General *Lubomirski*, to repair to *Warsaw* at the approaching election.

The Governor *Lillieboek*, during this interval, busied himself in filling the magazines, and took all his measures with great prudence. But, as he was extremely solicitous to be provided against all events, it was with extreme regret he saw himself obliged by his Majesty's orders to exact no more contributions, or lay in any farther provisions : which were so much the more afflicting, as the stock in hand were not sufficient to support the garrison for any time ; as the *Saxon* army approached, and *Smigelski* continually harassed our foragers.

Our garrison consisted but of six hundred foot, and some hundreds of horse. We had but ten little pieces of brass cannon, three pounders, which we found in the city when it first fell into our hands, and which were a present of the late King of *Sweden* to *Galetski*, at the time of his embassy

1740. embassy in that kingdom ; the other five brass-cannon having been sent away to the army. We had but one cannonier, who was a soldier in the regiment of *Lillieboek*. What powder we had was sent from General *Rheinschild's* army, no settled resolution having been taken to keep a garrison in *Poznan*. And, to compleat our misfortune, all the fortifications, by the King's express command were neglected, and suffered to fall to ruin : particularly the front of the gate of *Breslaw*, from whence we could fire but with one single cannon : and as to the demi-bastion of *Gerberschantz*, it had none at all.

We had begun a work before autumn, to the left of the Jesuit's cloister, where the city is almost open and without defence ; but it was not half finished, and it was high time to take some precautions on that side, even to prevent a surprize ; and in case the enemy afforded leisure, to work upon it by degrees, till it was become defensible ; at least, till we could procure succours from *Polish Prussia*.

The garrison, however small in proportion to the extent of the place, worked nevertheless with all imaginable ardor on the fortifications : our first task being to heighten them with a parapet. We then erected two traverses in the gate of *Breslaw*, under the arch, placed in such a manner, that we could pass beside them : and then a third in the street within the gate. In short, we neglected nothing to secure the place from being cheaply won. When we had made all these preparations, the Governor and I took care to inform his Majesty of the approach of the enemy, and how much we wanted a reinforcement.

While

While these things were transacting, the *Poles* 1740.
appeared one morning and carried off two centinels, and certain cattle; just as the piquet of horse, posted there to guard them, was going to relieve them. But even these were forced to retire towards the city, upon the approach of a greater number of the enemy.

Upon this Captain *Wrangel* sallied out with about a hundred horse, accompanied by a subaltern called *Ring*, at the head of twenty volunteers, who had resolved to do their utmost for the recovery of the cattle we had lost. Being alarmed at this, I mounted on horseback to see what was doing, and met at the city-gate a Captain with certain infantry, whom I posted at the end of the street in the suburbs, behind certain hedges, to hinder the enemy from entering there, and cutting off our retreat.

I then followed our cavalry at full speed, who pursued the *Poles* briskly, together with the twenty volunteers; but these last regarding no sort of order, I made it my business to form them, and in the interval I perceived that our cavalry made a sudden halt; and likewise that Captain *Wrangel* galloped towards me, making signs with his hat that he stood in need of succour. I presently made up to him, and observing three stout squadrons behind the mountain, on the edge of the wood, I posted the twenty volunteers in a garden near the village of *Wilda*, which is close to the suburbs; and, at the same time, ranged the cavalry, commanded by the two Captains *Wrangel* and *Benkeritz*, in front of the village.

As the cattle was already far off, under the cover of the wood, where it was impossible to recover them, I kept my post a full quarter of
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1704. an hour, during which the *Poles* approached us from time to time, to draw us out to combat ; but the *Saxon* squadrons made no advances at all. Having sent to the Governor to order more infantry into the suburbs, and he requesting me to make my retreat back to the city ; I took his advice, and withdrew about three hundred paces, ordering the Captain whom I had posted in the suburbs, to retire into the city, when he should see me make my second movement.

But, in the instant that I was putting this in execution, I heard a firing in the suburbs, and soon perceived the Captain was actually engaged with the *Poles*. Upon which we hastened to second him ; but the *Saxon* dragoons, who were already alighted, remounted instantly, and made off, together with the *Poles*, before we could come up. I reproved the officer for advancing beyond his orders, but he thought he had behaved well ; because he had killed certain of the enemy, without losing one man of his own. In short, one Corporal, of the regiment *de Craßau*, who was killed in the beginning of the skirmish, was all the loss we suffered on this occasion.

Mr. *de Lillieboek* and I did not fail to acquaint his Majesty and General *Rbeinschild* with the motions of the enemy, who held us always blocked up, though at a distance. At last the Governor received a letter from Major-General *Meyersfeld* at *Dantzic*, June 7. in which he certified, that being commanded by his Majesty to march towards *Posnania* with three regiments, he intreated him to lay in the necessary quantity of provisions for them. This news was very agreeable to us, but we kept it a profound secret ; and only gave orders for providing the bread,

bread, according to the General's desire. But 1704. as those troops were long retarded, we were obliged to distribute the bread prepared for them among the garrison; who were not very well pleased with it neither, because it already began to be mouldy. At last we received letters from Major-General *Meyerfeld*, dated at *Thorn*, in which he promised to relieve us without delay.

The Saxons, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Schulenburg*, were posted from the town of *Mejeritz* all along the frontiers of *Silesia*. They had exacted excessive contributions from the city of *Lissa*, which belonged to King *Stanislaus*, and had garrisons at *Costyn*, and at *Frauenstadt*, where they had filled a magazine. One part of their army was already advanced as far as *Zaun*; but as ours commanded by General *Rheinschild* hindered them from joining King *Augustus* at *Cracow*, they took a resolution to return back again.

The General of *Great Poland*, *Radomyki*, and his brother the Constable of *Poznan*, together with *Smigelski*, and several other *Polish* parties, having now joined the Saxons, they took possession of all the places and important passes upon the *Warta*, put a stout garrison at *Notetz*, and another in the castle of *Wielun*, which belonged to the *Starost Sapieba*. All which they afterwards abandoned, having first committed the most horrible excesses.

We had often news from *Meyerfeld*, who at last arrived with the three regiments; his own, that of *Taube's*, both dragoons, and the regiment of *Scania*, horse, which was commanded by Colonel *Gustavus Horn*. This last consisted of six hundred men, two hundred having

1704. been sent to *Warsaw*, and several other parties to other places; so that the whole reinforcement did not amount to above two thousand men. They encamped about a quarter of a league from the city on a line, having the village of *Rataja* on the right; and the Governor was obliged to furnish them with provisions, though he had little enough for his own people.

Some days after the arrival of these troops, I was seized with a fever, and, though I did my utmost to bear up, and made a shift to pay a visit to Major-General *Meyerfeld* in his camp, I soon found my self obliged to keep my bed, which gave me the more pain, as I saw my self disabled from serving his Majesty, according to my hopes, or even to review the regiments, according to his Majesty's orders.

General *Meyerfeld* failed not, together with his Colonels, to advise with me every day upon what was fit to be done; and I, on my side, expressed my concern that the succours he brought were too feeble to look the enemy in the face, who were, at least, twice as strong. However, as, upon mature deliberation, it seemed of importance to us to know the precise number of the enemy, and, at the same time, with as little hazard as possible, *July 29.* *Meyerfeld* dispatched a subaltern of the regiment of *Breme*, together with a Corporal and ten men to go upon the discovery.

The same night, a deserter of *Bareuth's* regiment of horse, brought us the news, that the *Saxons* were in full march with two thousand foot, and almost as many cavalry, to surprize our succours; and that they were already on the point of passing the *Warta*. Upon this, at the instance of *Meyerfeld*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Waidenbeim*

denheim with three hundred foot, two field-
pieces, and all the cavalry, received orders to
join his corps. 1704.

As I was ill a-bed during this action, it is not possible for me to give a detail of it. It began at day-break, and lasted three hours; when certain squadrons came, in confusion, towards the city, among whom was Major-General *Meyerfeld* himself, and the Colonels *Horn* and *Waidenheim*, all demanding the gates to be opened.

The Governor at first refused it, and recommended to them to return to their duty, as having no provisions for their support; but at last consented to their admission, that they might a little recover their disorder. As we had no news of Colonel *Taube* or Lieutenant-Colonel *Trautsetter*, we believed them dead, and their troops dispersed.

We were in this incertainty for three hours, at the end of which they returned; the first of them wounded, and reported the enemy was busy in plundering the camp, all in disorder, and that an opportunity offered of returning the affront we had received. Upon this the Major-General ordered them to sound to horse, and sallied out in search of the enemy, who were by this time retired, and had already reached the neighbouring woods.

Meyerfeld then encamped a short league from the city, from whence he marched in the morning towards *Gnesen* and *Lowitz*, and thence to *Thorn*. The baggage followed a day after, under a strong guard; and thus were we left with only a hundred men of all this reinforcement, whose horses were killed, and they themselves wounded; among which were Colonel

1704. *Taube*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Grotbusen*, *Wauber* and *Cronberg* Captains of horse, and some others.

Some days after the whole *Saxon* army arrived, under the command of Field-Marshal *Schulenburg*, and posted themselves near the *Warta*, about half a league above *Pofnania*. It consisted of twelve battalions and sixty squadrons, neither of which exceeded an ordinary company. They had no artillery but field-pieces; and, for their first enterprize, began to throw a bridge over the *Warta*.

In which interval, they several times sent a trumpet into the city, with letters to the Governor, for the exchange of prisoners. But we at first refused to hear their messages, without an express order from the King: but, as his Majesty was far off, as we had above a hundred *Saxons* prisoners, who demanded a large guard, and consumed a great deal of provisions; as, on the other hand, we should enlarge many of our own people, and at the same time recruit our garrison, the Governor, after having demanded my consent, entered upon the exchange. The prisoners on both sides, except *Trepba* and his companions, whom we detained, being all discharged.

The enemy's army, nevertheless, continued to make its approaches every day, and held us blocked up on all sides. A party of their infantry were posted behind the cloister, and possessed the cathedral church which is without the city. We learned, in the mean time, that they were collecting large quantities of fascines. And one night they came to examine the ditch of *Gerberschantz*, but we fired upon them so briskly, that they made off as fast as possible.

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The whole garrison continued all that night 1704. on the ramparts, every one in his proper post ; which was then but a pleasure, because the weather was so exceeding fine : and a surprize was what we dreaded more than a formal siege, because the artillery of the enemy, which were but certain field-pieces, were not able to make a breach.

While we thus lived in a sort of truce, we beheld all at once, *Sept. 3.* the whole army of the enemy marching with all their baggage in two columns, in the road to *Wresnia*. We were also informed, that the enemy had not left above a hundred men, both horse and foot, under the command of General *Radomicki*, near the bridge of *Warta*.

Two days after I learned farther, that all the *Saxon* infantry had followed the cavalry, and that the *Poles* were retired as fast as possible to *Costyn*. Upon which, without loss of time, I detached a hundred horse to ruin the bridge, and burn it with all their fascines, which was done accordingly. About the same time I received letters from Lieutenant-General *Horn* at *Warsaw*, in which he informed me, That King *Augustus* was approaching that city with considerable forces : that is to say, six thousand *Saxons*, four thousand *Poles*, three thousand *Cossacks*, and six thousand *Muscovites*, exclusive of the troops of *Brand* : That he would enclose himself in the castle, which he would defend to the last extremity ; exhorting us likewise to do the same, without expecting any succours : the King being obliged to follow the rout of the army, under General *Rheinschild*.

1704. However discouraging this letter was, we were glad to take breath, and did not fail to provide ourselves with forage. As to provisions, it was more difficult to procure a sufficient quantity: *Radomicki* being returned from *Costyn* to *Stenzewa* with three hundred *Saxon* and *Polish* troopers, harraressed our parties incessantly; especially, after the nobility [assembled at *Skroda*, had published an edict to forbid our being furnished with any sustenance on pain of death.

I writ to Major-General *Meyerfeld*, to acquaint him with what I had heard from *Thorn*, as likewise with the departure of the enemy. We had, nevertheless, little hopes to see him speedily return, when, all at once, *Sept. 9.* at eleven o'clock at night, they brought me word, he was at the gates with his cavalry; and a moment after he entered my chamber, with the Governor, and the Lieutenant-Colonels *Weidenheim* and *Hagen*. Having then immediately informed him, that he had the fairest opportunity in the world to take his revenge, he replied, he was of my opinion, and that he had not made such haste, if it had not been on that account.

I then ordered all the garrison to horse, who were to lead the way; and followed them myself as a Volunteer. Colonel *Taube* likewise insisted on bearing us company, notwithstanding his wound; together with Lieutenant-Colonel *Grothusen*: and both mounted on horseback immediately. But the first, not finding himself able to bear the fatigue, was obliged to stay behind.

We marched wholly under the conduct of a *Pofnanian* guide; and, as he led us through narrow lanes and marshy places, we moved but very

very slowly. Having, at day-break, travelled but two leagues, and being yet one more distant from the enemy. 1704.

The cavalry of the garrison, which were three hundred strong, formed the van ; the regiment of *Taube* followed, then that of *Meyerfeld*, and Colonel *Horn* brought up the rear. In this order we passed the wood, to a village which was still a quarter of a league short of the enemy, where we halted, till all the cavalry had passed the defile.

When this was done, we advanced by squadrons in full gallop towards the enemy, while passing through the village, and a little wood beyond it, in our way to another village called *Stenzew*, from whence the camp was not far distant. We knew that in this wood there was both a defile and a water, through which we were obliged to march, and where we expected the enemy would dispute our passage : but as they did not dream of us, our squadrons passed both the bridge and the water without molestation, and thence strait on to the camp.

This was about six o'clock in the morning. The *Saxons*, who were encamped separately, made off forthwith, without being perceived by us. And our van, without regarding the pillage, briskly pursued the *Poles*, who were divided into two bodies, and likewise retired upon our first approach.

Colonel * *Taube* with his regiment, and certain other squadrons pursued their track for above a league ; and, though they rallied, we attacked them again, notwithstanding the weariness of our horses, and gave them a total defeat. Our en-

* Our author has forgot he left the Colonel disabled with his wounds at *Posnania*.

1704. terprize accomplished, *Meyerfeld* and I returned to the camp, which we found already pillaged, though Colonel *Horn*, who was behind with his regiment, had orders to hinder it, till the rest of the troops returned. Some *Poles* of quality were killed ; and we took the *Bontschup*, or ensign of the General of *Great Poland*, together with three standards, and eleven pair of kettle-drums.

Their camp was well stored with wine, beer, and *aqua vitæ* ; which our troops making too free with, and beginning to be intoxicated, we hurried them away. *Meyerfeld* took his rout through a fine estate belonging to the Constable *Radomicki*, in the court-yard of whose seat, and the out-offices belonging to it, he took his post, together with his regiment. The two other regiments encamping in a garden close-adjoining, which, as well as the court, was walled in.

I staid there all night, though there was neither food or forage to be met with ; and the next morning set out with Colonel *Taube*, and the cavalry of the garrison, to return to *Posnania*, which was but two leagues off. At the same time, I was obliged to detach certain horse to the neighbouring village, to take order for a supply of forage to be sent to *Gunarzewo* ; where I had advised *Meyerfeld* to continue, for the benefit of forage from the adjacent villages. But he replied, that all the inhabitants being fled, it was impossible to be furnished with any quantity but at *Posnania* ; where likewise he could best defend himself, till he received farther orders. He added, that his troops were in so bad a condition, that he should be obliged to buy a thousand things for their accommodation : and being likewise new levies, it was difficult to

keep them in discipline. He returned therefore, the 14th, to *Pofnania*, and his regiments had quarters assigned them in the suburbs. 1704.

Some days after we learned that General *Brand* was arrived, that he had possessed himself of the same post which *Schulenburg* had occupied before, and that he waited only the arrival of *Patkul* and the *Muscovites* with the artillery, to besiege us in form. And accordingly, *Sept.* 19. we saw the whole army cross the country in two columns, in their way to the *Warta*.

As the enemy, when the waters were low, could easily ford over that river, near the place where they had their late bridge, I immediately gave notice to *Meyerfeld* to keep a strict watch on that pass, as the greatest part of his troops were out in pursuit of forage. Upon this he sent to recal them with all speed, and marched himself with the remainder of his troops, which amounted in all to about three hundred and fifty, towards the water-side, where he found that several of the enemy's squadrons had already passed over; whom he attacked, routed, and drove back into the river. The Count *de Gyllenstolpe* was dangerously wounded in the arm in this encounter. The foragers, except some few, arrived happily in the suburbs, but without having time to bring in their forage.

Meyerfeld now sent Colonel *Taube*, to entreat of the Governor and me, that, as it was not possible for his troops to defend themselves in their present situation, they might be permitted to enter into the city, on his promise of their paying ready money for whatever they wanted; which we consented to, though our stock of provisions was exceeding low. Accordingly, they

1704. they were admitted, and not without great difficulty found room for their horses. In the morning, we sent out the foragers again, almost as far as the neighbouring villages; and, though the *Poles* and *Cossacks* came in sight from time to time, they did not think proper to give us the least interruption.

Soon after we learned, that the *Muscovites*, to the number of six thousand men, had joined *Brand* at about a league from the city, having taken their rout by *Srem*, and that they had no bridge over the *Warta*.

Octob. 4. the enemy advanced with their whole army in two columns towards the city, and encamped in the plain almost joining to the suburbs. We immediately discharged our cannon upon them, and the next day allotted every officer his post, with written instructions for their conduct, both in general, and as particular incidents might arise.

The houses of the suburbs were already burnt down, but we could not hinder the enemy from posting themselves in *St. Martin's* church, and the *Bernardine* Convent, from whence they fired upon us, but without effect; because our troops, according to the orders they had received, kept themselves quiet and concealed, except some few who had permission to return the complement.

That night Major *Duderburg* was dispatched with ten troopers, having each a led horse, to inform his Majesty, or, at least, General *Rheinsebild*, of what had passed since the commencement of the siege, and the condition of the garrison. They were escorted a league and a half by a hundred horse, who returned all safe, and without having been once attacked.

The 5th, the enemy began to fire from a battery of six cannons on the tower of the *Breslau* gate, with balls from six to eighteen pound. They likewise threw certain bombs, carcasses, and red-hot bullets into the city, which they continued all night. We had ordered the citizens to take care of their houses, and have water ready every where. At the same time, the *Jews* were enjoined to be at hand to extinguish the fire, and take proper measures to hinder the effect of the bombs.

The 6th, the enemy continued quiet till towards night, when they renewed their fire, and discharged red-hot bullets as before, which lasted till five o'clock next morning. At the same time we sent out certain troops, by the suburb of *Valenzewo*, towards the cathedral-church, to bring in some forage, (as having yet that whole side of the *Warta* entirely open) but with very little success.

The 7th, the enemy continued firing towards evening; but remained quiet all night long.

The 8th, they began at day-break, and did not give over till six o'clock at night. As we observed, they principally battered the wall, between the two towers situated between the castle and the gate of *Breslau*, we began forthwith to form a coupure behind the rampart, consisting of a parapet, with two flanks, or sides, and palisades in front.

The 9th, being *Sunday*, they fired till noon, with a greater number of cannon than ever. At four o'clock they renewed their endeavours for a breach at the place before mentioned, with seventeen pieces of cannon great and small, and actually made a small opening. This continued till ten o'clock at night.

1704. As we conjectured the enemy had a sentinel on the tower of the cathedral-church, we sent thither a Captain with thirty horse and sixty foot, but found our selves mistaken. They, however, seized a waggon load of hay, which they happily conveyed into the city; together with two valets, belonging to a *Saxon* Captain of horse, who were released some days after.

This evening I was informed, the enemy began to thicken on that side next the breach; on which I repaired thither forthwith, but found it was a false alarm, and that they had only let go the sluice of a pond behind the castle and the stable, by which means a mill within the walls was deprived of water.

The 10th, they continued to fire upon the breach, where Major *Rotbusen* had his post, and by eight o'clock had made it considerably wider. They did the same all the rest of the day; and towards evening, they began to play from several other batteries upon the *Gerberschantz*, but without effect. They likewise fired upon the breach all night long, though to no great purpose. This evening a miller's boy got over the wall, to let down the sluice of the pond again, which he happily effected.

The 11th, they fired briskly at first upon the breach, but towards noon abated their fury, and only cast stones into the city. Towards the evening they continued quiet, and during the night never once fired at all.

The 12th, they did not fire all day. We observed them to march out on all sides, and that they conducted to the camp abundance of forage. They fired again upon the breach in the evening, and continued to do the same all night.

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The 13th, they fired with greater fury than ever from their batteries, as well on the side of the *Bernardines* on the *Gerberschantz*, as from that of *St. Martin*, on the wall, and the breach, which they widened considerably. But we repaired it in the night with a great number of fascines, and a suitable quantity of earth : which, when they perceived, they fired upon our workmen incessantly with their small arms, but without doing any execution. 1704.

We however reinforced that post with a hundred and fifty men. A Lieutenant in Colonel *Taube's* own company was killed in the *Gerberschantz* with a musket bullet, which he received in his forehead. A hundred and twenty men were ordered to raise a ravelin on the other side of the water in the *Ech*, but as the enemy had posted themselves in another neighbouring island, the affair proceeded no farther.

The 14th, they made an opening in the breach twenty paces broad, which gave us but little pain, because it afforded us room to support our *coupure*, by opening a communication with the convent of *St. Teresa*, where we had posted a great number of men. In this view we set sixty labourers (who were likewise a *Corps de Reserve* for the *coupure*) to work every night in throwing out the loose stones, and levelling the way, to enable us to pass thither on occasion, or even to sally from thence in case of necessity.

To night the enemy made a brisk fire with their small arms towards the breaches, perceiving what we were about ; and we in return fired as briskly on them, perceiving likewise that they were as busy as we ; we threw also among them pots of lighted pitch, and made abundance of fires to discover what passed in the ditch.

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1704.

The 15th, in the morning we saw there three ladders, which the enemy had abandoned. We gave one sol a day more to every man, on account of their being obliged to work night and day. The enemy forbore firing; but took possession of the other side of the *Warta*, both with foot and horse, and drew a line of eighty paces round about the bridge, among the ruins of the suburb, which had been burnt down. This line they furnished with gabions, and we observed they had begun a battery against the great gate of the city. In the mean while they fired almost without intermission, from their small arms on that gate, and the *Mublen-schantz*; notwithstanding which, we had but one dragoon wounded.

The Governor gave orders, the same day, to all the citizens who had their houses most exposed to the fire of that battery, to cover them with dung and earth. At night I was informed, that a great noise of workmen was heard behind the stable, near the castle. Upon which I ordered immediately pots of flaming pitch to be thrown, in order to discover what they were about; when I perceived they had placed a great quantity of gabions all along the ditch, in order to raise a battery; and thereupon ordered a Lieutenant and forty men to reinforce that quarter, and fire upon the labourers all night.

As it came into my head, that the enemy, after having taken possession of the other side of the *Warta*, had entirely cut off our communication with the country, and that, after they had, by the help of their batteries, beat down the great gate, and raised the parapet of *Mublen-schantz*, which they might accomplish in one day, they would not fail to seize upon the bridge.

bridge, and extend their whole line close to the water, not to mention that they would ruin the only mill we had remaining, and prevent our very horses from being led to water, I proposed to *Meyerfeld* to burn down the bridge. To which he replied, that, as it was an affair of consequence, I should do well to consult the Colonels. Accordingly, having sent for them to my apartment, and given them my reasons for this proposal, they received it with applause; and even added, that, when the enemy had battered down the tower of the great gate, it would be impossible to burn the bridge if we would. In consequence of which resolution, Captain *Pulman* had orders that very night to set fire to it, which was immediately put in execution. The enemy placed certain cannon that day on the battery, near the convent of *Carmelites*.

The 16th, the enemy fired from the said battery on the *Brummer-gate*; and two dragoons of the regiment of *Taube* deserted.

The 17th, towards ten o'clock they began to fire on the breach in the wall, which was to the left of the *Brummer-gate*; and especially from the battery which they had erected near the ditch, behind the stable. As this was the nearest, I ordered some of our best marksmen to fire into their port-holes, as soon as the smoke was over, who killed abundance of their cannoniers.

After noon, a drum arrived with a letter from a *Swedish* officer, unknown to me, for Lieutenant General *Gyllenstierna*. He was also charged with another letter from Lieutenant-General *Patkul*, to the Governor *Lillieboek*. This letter was writ in a stately, obscure and tumid style: It summoned the Governor to surrender himself
and

1704. and his garrison prisoners of war, and not to expose himself to extremities. The breach being made, and, in case of a refusal, no mercy being to be shewn.

We treated with scorn both the letter and the impertinent reason it contained : the enemy having abandoned their first breach, and being then at work to make a second. *Gyllenstierna*, nevertheless, replied to that, which he had received ; but we gave the drum to understand, that as we looked upon *Paskul* as a *Swede*, as a traitor to his country, and of course, as dead in law, we did not know what it was to hold a correspondence with people of the other world. An answer which terribly surprized the drum. In the evening we reinforced the guard of the gate *de Brummer* with twenty men. And that night the enemy did not fire at all.

The 18th, a hundred men were ordered to fill up the road to the said gate, with dung and earth, leaving room however for one man to pass on each side : and the enemy beginning to fire from a new battery to the right of that gate, as they had before done to the left, where they had already made a breach thirty foot wide, we immediately sunk a ditch with a parapet behind it, as an additional security in case of need ; and when they prepared to batter down the second wall as they had done the first, we made a way thro' to the convent of *St. Catharine*, which was near the breach on the left, to come from behind to the second wall ; which being feeble, was soon overturned, and the convent ruined. That evening, we again reinforced the gate near the breach with sixty foot, the command of whom was given to Lieutenant-Colonel *Hagen*, who

was in the service of the Duke of *Holstein Got-* 1704.
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During the night, the enemy threw certain bombs, red-hot bullets, and abundance of stones. They beside ply'd their battery to the right of the gate *de Brummer* all night long, but with less ardor than at first. In this interval, we turned almost three hundred horses out of the city, which we had not forage to support, and killed them by the water-side. We had twice already been obliged to make executions of this nature.

The 19th, at day-break, they renewed their firing on the breach, which they considerably enlarged: their balls passing quite through the second wall, the convent of St. *Catharine's*, and even the street *de Brummer*. As to the breach to the right of the gate, the two walls were there so weakened, that they were both thrown down almost at the same instant. The enemy beside fired vehemently at the tower, to incommode the troops upon duty underneath with the stones which tumbled from it. This day we resolved upon a sally, and Captain *Pulman* had orders with a hundred and fifty men, half infantry and half cavalry on foot, to file off above the mill: but, at I observed the enemy took the alarm, and stood upon their guard, I recalled them forthwith.

The enemy, during the night, having placed their gabions quite close to the extremity of *Gerberschantz*, and by that step inducing me to believe, they intended to erect there another battery, I detached Captain *Bantholtz*, of the regiment of *Taube*, with a hundred men to destroy them: but, as soon as they had passed the ditch, and were advancing to execute their orders, a sudden panic seized upon

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1704. them, and believing the enemy at hand, except the Captain and a few, who proceeded, notwithstanding, to perform their commission, they all run back to the city. We made enquiries after into this affair, but, as it happened in the dark, the truth was never known.

The same night, the Captains *Pulman* and *Morton* sallied out likewise with a hundred and fifty men, by the road which lay under the mill; attacked the *Russians*, posted behind an old wall opposite to the shambles of the *Jews*, and, after having killed several, returned without the loss of a man. Two dragoons of the regiment of *Meyerfeld* let themselves down with cords from the top of the wall, and deserted to the enemy. And we filled the breach near *St. Catharines*, with *Chevaux de Frise*.

The 20th, the enemy battered the wall to the right of the gate *de Brummer*, with twelve pieces of cannon, and continued it all day with such success, that, towards night, they had made an opening above forty paces broad, and beat down all the rubbish into the ditch; what remained not being a foot in height, and which they might enter upon the same level with the breach. Upon this, we placed two pieces of cannon, loaded with cartridges, in the entrance, one to the right, and the other to the left, to scour the two breaches in flank in case of an attack.

Towards noon the enemy shot into the city several arrows, with letters fastened to them, six of which were brought me. Their contents were, That such *Germans* belonging to the garrison that would go over to them, should be well recompenced; or, in case they would not desert, such who threw down their arms during the

the assault, which they were on the point of making, should have their lives ; but that, otherwise, all should be put to the sword. I rewarded those handsomely who brought me these letters : nevertheless, we had so well divided our posts, that the regiments were every where intermingled, and, by that means, each secured the fidelity of the other. As to those persons we suspected, we placed them where they could do the least mischief.

The guard of the gate *de Brummer* in particular was that night reinforced, to the amount of a hundred and eighty men, under the command of three Captains of horse, and one of foot, and stationed in such a manner, that they could mutually support each other till succours arrived. And as, according to all appearances, the enemy designed to attack us that night, I ordered all the garrison to be prepared and under arms.

I then repaired, together with the Governor, to the last breach, as the most dangerous, and which was not far from that of *St. Catharine*. *Meyerfeld* continued at the first between the gate *de Breslau* and the castle. The cavalry were ranged in the market, to be ready to assist wherever there was occasion, and every other post was secured as well as possible.

The night passed quietly enough, except that the enemy fired, now and then, some pieces of cannon, with red-hot balls, tho' without effect. But towards day-break, on the discharge of one single cannon, the whole camp rung with the most hideous outcries. Upon which Colonel *Taube*, who was with me, repaired to the breach with his troops, where they continued behind the parapet in good order, expecting the enemy ;

1704. who still continued their clamours, as if their whole army was on the point of overwhelming us. Nevertheless no body appeared, and, when it was day, all was quiet again; which induced us to believe, that they designed by these howlings, to draw us into the breach, in order to slaughter us with cartridges. It was also conjectured, that they were alarmed with the apprehensions of a sally; no such cries being heard from the other side of the city.

The 21st, they renewed their fire on the first and great breach, till they had enlarged it to more than eighty paces in breadth; which obliged us likewise to enlarge our *coupure*, and do our best to put ourselves in a good posture of defence. Towards noon they ceased firing, and sent letters by a trumpet to *Meyerfeld* and *Lillieboek*, to exchange certain prisoners: but, upon receiving a proper answer, continued it on as before.

This evening, we reinforced the grand breach with a hundred men, commanded by Major *Bornman*, who was posted to the right of the *coupure*, and Major *Rotbusen* to the left: the whole guard amounting to four hundred and sixty men, commanded in chief by Colonel *Horn*, to whose care was likewise committed all that side of the city, as far as the castle inclusive, and to Colonel *Taube* all the other. During the night, the enemy fired with their small arms upon our labourers in the breach, but could not reach them because of our *Chevaux de frise*.

The 22d, they renewed their battery on the grand breach with great fury, more especially on the inner wall, near the cloister of St. *Catharine*; and, as the stones were exceeding hard, they fired with double cartridges. Towards
noon,

noon, a drum demanded entrance, and being twice directed to the gate *de Breslau*, he made his appearance no more. 1704.

All this day and night the enemy continued firing incessantly, both from their cannon and small arms, together with certain red-hot bullets. We being all the while at our posts, and under arms as before.

The 23d, being *Sunday*, they fired but a few shot in the morning. At nine o'clock a trumpet came to demand that a Captain of horse might be permitted to come out to the camp by way of hostage for another, who would be sent to the city. In answer to which we dispatched Captain *Hall*, with two other officers, and as many of the enemy were admitted in exchange; who were introduced to the Governor, Major-General *Meyerfeld* being present. As they could not soon agree on the exchange of the prisoners, the conference lasted till noon, and the officers then staid to dinner: to which I was likewise invited. These gentlemen seemed to be much out of humour; and what was ridiculous enough, they had demanded, together with the exchange of the prisoners, the restitution of the *Bandschup*, or standard of the General of *Great Poland*, which *Radomicki* had lost in the action of *Stenzewa*. After dinner I returned to my own apartment, and, towards evening, the officers set out with the *Polish* prisoners, and Captain *Hall* returned to the city.

When it began to be dark, a dragoon of *Meyerfeld's* regiment, who had been taken prisoner in the action with *Schulenburg*, came to inform us, that he had heard a murmur run through the enemy's camp of a retreat: that seventeen pieces of cannon were already sent off,

1704. and that all the batteries were dismounted. Our sentinels, posted on the towers of the city, likewise confirmed this, by the movements which they observed in the enemy's camp: but we continued on our guard notwithstanding. In the night they fired with certain small-arms into the breach, but we heard no more of their cannon.

The 24th, when it was day, we perceived neither cannon or men on the batteries, nor in the approaches; a handful only appearing opposite to the gate *de Breslau*, and discharging a few vollies, by which a surgeon of the regiment of *Sudermanlande* was slightly wounded. Towards nine o'clock, both their cavalry and infantry were in full march, leaving only a guard of *Saxons* near to the convent of the *Carmelites*, and a part of their camp in the *Wilda*. We then had the way cleared to the gate *de Breslau*, and opened that near the pond, which had been walled up in order to make a sally: but we altered this resolution afterwards. Towards the evening all the rest of the besiegers decamped.

The 25th, we made it our business to rase all the enemy's works, and burn their ladders, and all the other implements they had abandoned. At the same time, we sent out a party in search of forage, who returned with a small quantity of straw, and hay, which they found in the camp of the enemy.

During this siege, which lasted three weeks, we lost but nine men with one Lieutenant of dragoons, and one subaltern of foot: and had but twenty wounded, among whom was one Captain,

Arvid Axel, Mardeveld,

It

It is now time to return to the army.

1704.

October 31, some of our troops passed the *Oder*, and sounded the depth of the water, to find out what rout the *Saxons* had taken, in order to make their report to his Majesty, and enquire if it was not his pleasure that they should continue the pursuit. The King only smiled at this question, and, without explaining himself farther, gave orders for all to be in readiness, and, contrary to all expectations, wheeled about again for *Poland*.

The King, having learned by the way that two thousand *Cossacks* were but a little way from the army, went in quest of them, attacked, and put a great part of them to the sword; burning the rest in the houses whither they were retired, and giving quarter only to two hundred and twelve, at the instance of King *Stanislaus*. A Colonel and fifty more of the best-mounted made their escapes at the beginning of the action.

His Majesty marched three leagues that day to *Schlichtingheim*, after a pursuit of sixty leagues in ten days, from the time of his passing the *Vistula*, to his reaching the *Oder*, through the most hideous roads and doubles, without having changed cloaths or linnen all that time, which dropt piecemeal from the whole army, Princes, officers and soldiers.

Novemb. 1. the King continued his march to *Fraustadt*, where he quartered in the house of a Gentleman, called *Roersdorf*. The regiments being dispersed in the adjacent places, to snatch a little repose which they stood greatly in need of.

Here his Majesty allotted the winter-quarters for every regiment. He himself with his *Dra-*
bans retiring to *Ravitz*, a little pretty *Polish*
town

1794. town on the frontiers of *Silesia*, where he lodged, contrary to his usual custom, in a fine house belonging to a gentleman near the gate. The Chancery and the Court had likewise very convenient quarters, the like had the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who, nevertheless, exchanged his for others less commodious, in order to be nearer his Majesty,

Ravitz is surrounded with a rampart, and so regularly built, that from the middle one has a prospect of the four gates of the town. The inhabitants speak no language but *German*, and are all *Lutherans*, on which account the *Silesians* on the frontier, of the same religion, often come thither to divine service. Their commerce consists in cloaths, of which this is a tolerable staple; and from hence they are sold by the merchants all over *Poland* to *Jaroslau*, and thro' *Leopol* even to *Lublin*; and though they run great hazards from robbers and rapparees both in war and peace, they are nevertheless rich, and much at their ease.

Before we finish this year, it will be proper to see how Lieutenant-General *Meidel* ended the campaign in *Finland*.

After the *Russians* had been repulsed, in their attempt on that General's camp near *Walkefari*, in *July*, they sent out several detachments on the other side of the *Neva*, who all met with the same fate. *Meidel*, on his side, likewise detached parties towards *Noteburg* and *Petersburg*, who burnt and destroyed all the magazines of the enemy.

After which, he advanced with his troops farther into *Finland*, and the more boldly, as those of the enemy appeared no longer on the frontier. He detached, however, in *September*, a Captain of cavalry, with sixty foot and eighty horse, who
passed

passed through *Carelia*, and made the whole 1704.
tour of *Ladoga*. Returning happily, after several weeks absence, though they had attacked a fort of the enemy's built of wood and earth, with four towers, and garnished round the top with *Chevaux de frise*.

This first was defended by seven hundred *Russians*, who, after an obstinate defence, were almost burnt by our people's setting fire to the fort, and the neighbouring village. The Governor, and about seventy men attempting to escape to the adjacent woods, were all put to the sword, except some few, who returned to the fort, and were made prisoners, together with fifty more who had hid themselves underground.

After the fire was extinguished, we found four brass cannons, and eleven of iron, with a great number of fire arms, and other ammunitions of war. The Captain conducted the prisoners, a great number of arms, and abundance of cattle to the camp. Having burnt and destroyed all the rest.

We had several men killed, and many more wounded, among whom was one Captain of foot, two Lieutenants, and three Subalterns. This fort was fifty leagues from *Wiborg*; and General *Meidel* afterwards took possession of it for his winter-quarters.

Little remarkable happened in that interval, except that the enemy detached a party from *Petersburg*, who repaired to the other side of the *Nava*, to cut down trees for beams, to be employed for the fort: and being attacked by our troops and totally defeated, were all put to the sword.

1704.

King *Stanislaus* lodged in his own castle of *Ridzin*, or *Reussen*, one league from the city of *Lissa*, which belonged to the family of *Lesinski*, and from whence they derive their name.

The castle, which was one of the finest seats in *Poland*, before it was ruined by the *Saxons*, *An. 1705*, is situated in a most charming country, near both to a village and a wood, very commodious for hunting, which was the darling passion of King *Stanislaus*. An avenue was cut through the wood to open a prospect to the city of *Lissa*. And among other magnificent apartments which it boasted, there was one varnished all over in so charming a taste, that though the *Saxon* General had orders to ruin that magnificent fabrick, he spared this lodging as the most beautiful in the world, and which could hardly ever be repaired. Another apartment was garnished all round with *Venice* glasses. A third presented now such superb baths, as were worthy of a Prince for the exquisite Mosaic, with which they were adorned.

Hither the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who had very dexterously insinuated himself into the affections of King *Stanislaus*, repaired, (whenever he could be excused from attending the King of *Sweden*, which was not often) to share with him in the pleasures of the chace. That young Prince had applied himself so earnestly to learn the *Swedish* tongue, that he spoke it in perfection, which, joined to his extreme ambition to please his *Swedish* Majesty, had established him perfectly in his esteem and friendship.

Hither likewise the Nobles of *Poland*, assiduously, repaired to pay their compliments to King *Stanislaus*, whose court grew more and more splendid every day. In a little Diet which

was

1704.

was held at *Kostyn* in *Great Poland*, it had been resolved to levy certain troops, which were to enter into his service the following campaign. In the mean time also, they had formed a new regiment of infantry, which, together with two hundred horse, were to serve for his guard. At the end of *December*, that Prince repaired to *Prussia* to see the Queen his spouse, who had retired thither with her family, ever since his departure from *Warsaw*.

The baggage of the army, which was likewise followed by our infantry, arrived by little and little. The Lieutenant-Generals *Stromberg* and *Posse*, who had each the command of a body of foot, brought along with them numbers of *Saxons* whom they had made prisoners upon the road. The army was distributed along the frontiers of *Silesia*, from the city of *Petrekow*, to the frontiers of *Brandebourg*.

Colonel *Charles Horn* was in garrison in the city of *Thorn*, with his regiment of *Pomeranian* infantry. As to the new regiments of dragoons, *Stenbock*, *Meyerfeld*, *Taube*, and *Ducker*, they took the road of *Prussia*, to raise recruits, after having suffered so much during this campaign. And the like did other regiments likewise.

As soon as it was understood in foreign courts, that his Majesty had taken up his winter-quarters at *Ravitz*, many of their Ministers repaired thither to treat of those affairs they had in commission from their masters: but were all referred to the Chancery at *Stockholm*. Nevertheless, as there were some who wished the King would himself take cognizance of what they had to propose, and others who by no means cared for so long a journey, they changed their characters, and

1704. and were admitted as travellers to an audience of his Majesty.

But though the King would never treat of foreign affairs, while at *Ravitz*, he nevertheless spent the greatest part of his time in the Chancery with Count *Piper*, and Secretary *Hermelin*, often attending there from morning-prayer, till one or two o'clock in the afternoon. He applied himself to the affairs of his kingdom, as well as those of the army, and carefully examined the present situations of courts, and their different interests. As to his leisure hours, his Majesty employed them in quite a new manner, which will hereafter be explained.

Thus gloriously did he finish the campaign of 1704, having scarce allowed himself any repose for the space of six months; that is to say, from the 21st of *June*, to the end of *December*.

He first set out from *Helisberg* in *Prussia* for *Warsaw*, from whence he repaired through *Great Poland* to *Sandomir* and *Leopol*; from the last of which places he retired to *Warsaw*, and afterwards posted on to *Punitz*, in which interval he compassed above two hundred leagues, dethroned King *Augustus*, set the crown of *Poland* on the head of *Stanislaus*, took the city of *Leopol* with cavalry only, passed the *Vistula* three times, and after the action of *Punitz*, drove the enemy out of the kingdom.

But in spite of all these expeditions, the Partizans of King *Augustus* still flattered themselves with some revolution in favour of that Prince: which was owing to the hopes the Czar, his ally, had given him of a considerable aid both of money and troops.

That Prince was now arrived to *Cracow*, as 1704. has been already said, with all the cavalry he could reassemble; whom he quartered in the out-skirts of that city, and in the adjacent villages. Many Senators however repaired thither, with a great number of Gentlemen, to advise of means to assemble a *Senatus-Consilium*: many even of those who had assisted at the election of King *Stanislaus* were likewise present, insomuch that King *Augustus* did not know in whom to confide; so great was the confusion every where, and the change so extraordinary!

The most prudent, and those who valued themselves most upon their integrity, continued neuter, and made a third party in the kingdom by the name of *Indifferents*.

The Grand-General Prince *Lubomirski*, the same who had solicited the crown, followed the example of his Peers, and being arrived at *Cracow*, intreated pardon of King *Augustus* in the humblest terms, for having abandoned his party; and promised to repair his fault, by an inviolable attachment for the future; both to his person and interests. Nevertheless, to justify to the world a turn which seemed so extraordinary, he published a detail of his reasons for deserting the confederacy of *Warsaw*: among which, the most plausible was that which referred to the seizing of his two sons, whom King *Augustus* had taken out of a cloister at *Warsaw*, and sent into *Saxony*: his natural affection did not permit him, he said, to bear any longer the imprisonment of all that was dear to him in the world. This was, however, esteemed but grimace; and supposing that K. *Augustus* had secured the children to bring back the father, it is certain the father was charmed to find

1740. find a plausible pretence to abandon one, whom he had long resolved to abandon, and whom he detested ever since his flattering ideas of royalty had deserted him by the election of King *Stanislaus*.

King *Augustus*, who had so many reasons to mistrust all these protestations that were made to him at *Cracow*, had very little better opinion of his affairs, after the return of the Grand-General; whose fidelity he so much the more suspected, as the change had been brought about by envy and disappointment only. After having recommended then his interests to all the Nobility in general, he set out for *Saxony*, at the beginning of the year, as well to make up the losses of the preceding campaigns, as to levy fresh troops, and put his hereditary dominions in a posture of defence; as fearing an irruption from his *Swedish* Majesty, who was now but a little way off.

The Emperor, alarmed to see a victorious army on the frontiers of *Silesia*, took much pains, in concert with *England* and *Holland*, to reduce the affairs of *Poland* to a negotiation. What his Imperial Majesty had in view, being to procure a peace between the King of *Sweden* and King *Augustus*, and by that means re-establish the tranquillity of his neighbourhood.

To this end, Count *Zinzendorf* had orders to repair to *Ravitz*, where having demanded a conference with some of the King's ministers, his Majesty referred him to Secretary *Hermelin*, who, after he had made his report, returned to the Count, with the King's resolution to persist in the design he had formed to dethrone *Augustus*, and crown King *Stanislaus* in his stead: and to grant no peace at all, unless King *Augustus*

gustus would abdicate, and content himself with the bare title of King. 1740.

However solicitous the *English* Envoy, Mr. *Robinson* was (though otherwise very much considered at court) to support the Imperial Minister, his Majesty continued inflexible on that head, and prepared by an early campaign, to compleat what he had so gloriously begun ; the establishment of King *Stanislaus*, and the eternal exclusion of King *Augustus*.

The affairs of King *Stanislaus* began then to wear a promising aspect. We have remarked elsewhere, that towards the end of the preceding year, he set out for *Prussia* : a little after which, Jan. 14. he had a long conference in a village near *Dantzick* with the Cardinal Primate, who remained in that city to observe, as from behind a curtain, what turn affairs would take.

The long residence of King *Augustus* in *Saxony* was of infinite prejudice to his interests on this occasion. It was believed he durst not return to *Poland* ; and whatever assurance he gave his Partizans to the contrary, they found no credit, which greatly abated their courage, and, in the end, induced the Cardinal to side with his competitor.

The King of *Sweden* had already demanded of that Prelate to fix a time for the coronation of King *Stanislaus*, but he would not comply but upon certain conditions. In the first place he demanded that the King of *Sweden* should take upon him the protection and defence of the kingdom of *Poland* for two years to come ; and that he should guaranty the Republic from all acts of violence and hostility, that King *Augustus* might attempt from the side of *Saxony*. Secondly, that he should exact no more contributions

1704. butions of the *Poles*, that they might have time to recruit their exhausted strength. And thirdly, that he should use his utmost endeavours to hinder the court of *Rome* from making good her menaces against him, on account of his union with King *Stanislaus*.

To the first of these points the King answered, that he would always have eight thousand men in *Pomeria*, to secure the new King from all insults whatever. To the second, That his Majesty would exact no contributions but of his enemies, and never but in concert with King *Stanislaus*. And to the third, That he would chuse deputies at the Diet, to defend his eminence at *Rome*, and appease the choler of the Pope.

It was on these conditions, that the Cardinal came over to King *Stanislaus*, that he convened the Diet at *Cracow*, and that he, at last, dispatched the *Universalia*, for the general Diet to be held at *Warsaw*, for the crowning King *Stanislaus*, as we shall see by and by.

The crown-army still scoured the country. *Smigelski*, a famous Partizan of King *Augustus*, at the head of seven or eight thousand horse, chiefly *Poles*, beat up our quarters continually. However, he made more noise than mischief, and we are now to see with astonishment, one Lieutenant of foot with eighty men defend himself from so considerable a body, who were not able to carry off the least advantage. The fact was thus:

The Lieutenant had been detached to levy contributions in the neighbourhood of the city of *Pietrikow*, where a party of the column under Lieutenant-General *Stromberg* was quartered. *Smigelski* having been apprized of this, and

knowing

knowing the Lieutenant's strength was but small, 1705. marched thither with all his forces, not at all doubting but he should carry off the whole party.

The attack was made with abundance of vigour; but the Lieutenant, who had been happy enough to re-assemble in time his whole eighty men, sustained it bravely. Seeing, however, that the number of the enemy encreased every moment, he withdrew farther within the village, disputing every inch of ground, till at last he posted himself in the seat of the Lord of the village; fully determined to hold out to the last extremity.

Smigelski then flattered himself that the affair was over: but the *Swedes*, far from a thought of surrendering, defended themselves so effectually, that the enemy were never able to set fire to the house, though they did their utmost for that end, and though they lost in the attempt abundance of their men; the *Swedes* never firing but with their pieces close to the enemy's breasts.

The combat lasted from morning till noon, when *Smigelski* shocked and surprized at such extraordinary valour, offered the Lieutenant honourable terms if he would surrender. But he rejected them with disdain, and the enemy was at last forced to give over their enterprize shamefully, and retire with a great number of carriages, loaded with their dead and wounded men.

This action so highly pleased his Majesty, that, in a little time after, he made the Lieutenant a Major. Neither was *Smigelski* more happy in his enterprizes upon our quarters:

1705. never attempting a surprize but it miscarried, or engaging but he was effectually beaten.

The crown-army being disbanded, took up its winter-quarters without distinction of friends or enemies, and levied contributions on all sides, which in *Poland* are commonly called *Hybernes*. At *Lowitz*, the residence of the Cardinal Primate, there were fourteen companies of *Poles*, and certain troops of horse and dragoons, such as are called *Quartians*, who had there posted themselves in garrison.

But the *Swedes*, not being very well pleased with their neighbourhood, resolved to dislodge them. Accordingly, Lieutenant-Colonel *Lubecker* of the life-guard, had orders to march thither with eight or nine hundred horse; which he did with such diligence, travelling both day and night, that he had infallibly surprized them in bed, if they had not received one hour's notice of his approach: upon which they immediately flew to horse, and posted with such speed through the city, that it was impossible for our troops to join them.

We surprized no more than fifty or sixty men who were killed, and twelve who were taken prisoners. We likewise took all their baggage and provisions, with a number of cattle, which they had carried off from different places. *Lubecker* reposed himself here for some time: but as to the *Poles*, they durst no more approach so near to our posts on that side.

Nor were the *Saxons* less disquieted in their quarters, which they had chose near the mountains of *Hungary*, and in the adjacencies, than we, by the *Poles*. Certain *Saxon* Generals, having taken possession of a little tract called *Sipserland*,

serland, which belonged to a young *Lubomirski*, 1705.
son to the late Marshal of the crown: He, who was then in the Emperor's service took his leave immediately, and hastened as fast as possible towards his seat, to examine a little nearer what sort of guests had visited him with so little ceremony: And, not liking their company, gathered together a body of about three thousand men, chiefly *Hungarians*, and obliged them to change their lodgings. Not contented with this success, he declared himself an open enemy to King *Augustus*, and harrassed his troops in several encounters: Having once the happiness to surprize certain *Saxons* in their quarters near to *Cracow*, where he made several of their officers prisoners, and carried off a pair of silver kettle-drums.

A third party, as hath been already said, was formed in the *Palatinates* of *Wolbinia* and *Russia*, called *Indifferents*. These assembled at *Leopol*, and had for their head Count *Potocki*, Palatine of *Kiovia*.

As King *Augustus* so long delayed his return into *Poland*, this party, which had near six or eight thousand men on foot, and which had never yet declared on either side, at last inclined in favour of the new King, and openly declared for him, after *Potocki* had had an interview with Lieutenant *Stromberg*, to whom he resigned sixty *Saxon* prisoners, whom he had taken in a rencontre.

This accession greatly raised the spirits of King *Stanislaus's* friends, who were in that country, and who hindered their antagonists from undertaking any thing contrary to his interests. On the other hand, the *Palatine* threatened to use them with the utmost rigour, if they pre-

1705. fumed to excite the least trouble; and further assured his Majesty, that he would be ready to join him on the first notice.

All these incidents appeared so dangerous to the Senators and Deputies assembled at *Cracow*, to hold a grand council in favour of King *Augustus*, that they writ anew to that Prince to press his return, in order to put a stop, by his presence, to all the designs that his enemies continually framed against him in *Poland*.

Augustus answered, that he would repair thither with all speed, and gave them a long detail of the reasons which compelled him to make so long a stay in *Saxony*. When they had received this reply, it was resolved that the assembly should continue to sit but three weeks after his arrival; for which no settled time was yet appointed, to the end that none of our parties, which had been detached as far as *Silesia*, should have knowledge of his return, or have it in their power to lay any snare to surprize him upon the road.

It was during this interval that Lieutenant-General *Arwid Horn* negotiated at *Dresden* the exchange of the prisoners which had been made on both sides. This convention was soon ratified, and that General was himself exchanged against Lieutenant General *Allart*, who was taken at the battle of *Narva*.

While these affairs were transacting in *Poland*, the Czar prepared to enter into *Lithuania*, at the head of a formidable army, in order to be as good as his word, given both to *Dzialinski* Palatine of *Culm*, and Ambassador from King *Augustus*, and *Oginski*, during the siege of *Narva*.

As

As that Prince had resolved to lay siege to *Riga*, he had employed all his diligence to prepare a grand train of artillery, with all the necessaries for an attempt on that important place. 1705.

When all was ready for the expedition, Velt-Marshal *Scheremetof* led the way with eighteen or twenty thousand men, and the Czar himself followed forthwith at the head of his army, entering into *Lituania*, through the *Palatinate* of *Polock*, and leaving behind him no more troops than were necessary for the defence of *Narva*, *Dorpt*, and other little conquered places; and the body of an army, sufficient to make head against General *Maydel*, who commanded our troops in *Finland*.

The Czar had reason to fear the activity and diligence of that officer, who had given him such proof of his valour in the last campaign. Though *Maydel* was not in a condition to act offensively, he would not however suffer his troops to linger out the time in their winter-quarters, but resolved to undertake some enterprize against the enemy.

The Czar, as was observed in the preceding year, had caused a castle to be built in the isle of *Retufari*, at the entrance of the *Neva*, more known by the name of *Cronslot*, and which joins to a city since erected, and called *Cronstadt*.

This place *Maydel* projected to make himself master of, and, as he well judged it must be done by surprize, he detached *Charles Arnfelt*, at the end of the month of *January*, with a party, which had orders to march through unfrequented roads, to avoid discovery. But, as *Arnfelt* found himself obliged to pass on the ice over an arm

1705. of the sea, which is between *Finland* and the isle, in an exceeding dark night, the guide mistook his way on that vast plain, then all covered with snow, and led them a great way beyond the castle without perceiving his mistake.

Hence the *Russians*, having discovered our design, had time to put themselves in a posture of defence, and threw immediately into the castle a reinforcement of five hundred men, while all the rest of their cavalry and infantry ranged themselves in order of battle in the new city of *Cronstadt*, and in the palace of the Czar ready to receive us.

Arnfelt, who was too far advanced to go back without making some attempt, was not daunted at his ill success, but, wheeling directly towards the isle, attacked the enemy posted in the town so briskly, that he obliged them to give ground. Their cavalry instantly made off; but their foot, not being able to escape, and endeavouring to save themselves in the castle, were all cut to pieces upon the ice, under their own cannon. The garrison likewise, having made a sally to support their friends, were used but very little better, being drove sword in hand as far as the *Chevaux de frise*, and a breach in the ice, which the enemy had made all round the fort, three fathoms broad.

Upon which, *Arnfelt*, well convinced that he could attempt nothing against the castle, returned to the city, and set fire to two men of war from twenty to thirty guns each, which were frozen fast in the ice. Abundance of ammunition, and all sorts of provisions likewise fell into his hands, as also a vast magazine of forage, which he reduced to ashes, as well as the

Czar's

Czar's palace, a great many other houses, and numbers of vessels in the port. 1705.

A little while after this action, General *Maydel* detached another party towards *Noteborg*, which burned several vessels fastened in the ice, and ravaged the country round, setting fire to every thing in their way. It is true, such mischiefs as these the *Russians* could easily repair; but *Maydel* did good service notwithstanding, both by the spoil that he made, and by giving the enemy a check at home; it being his design to hinder them from making inroads into our provinces, for fear of being surprized in their own.

In *Courland* our affairs seemed to have a very ill aspect, as well by the absence and distance of his Majesty, as by the formidable force of the whole *Russian* army, which was then approaching, and which Count *de Lowenbaupt*, with his handful of forces, appeared little able to withstand. But we had soon the pleasure to see, that they not only made head against them, but even repulsed that whole terrible multitude.

The good conduct of Count *Lowenbaupt* contributed greatly to this success. Whose first concern was to keep the communication with *Riga* free, and ward off the siege; taking his measures so happily, that he found himself able to defend that province for a long while, and to render the conquest of it extremely difficult to the Czar, with whom he resolved to dispute every inch of ground.

In this view he formed an army of such troops as he collected from *Libau* and other places of *Courland*, together with the regiments that Major *Schlippenbach* had commanded the preceding campaign in *Livonia*; placing strong
I 4 garrisons

1705. garrisons in *Mitau*, and the castle of *Bausk*, to amuse the enemy in their way to *Riga*, that he might gain time for more succours to come up, as we shall see hereafter.

His Majesty had sent orders to Lieutenant-Colonel *Lubecker* to quit *Lowitz* with his detachment: but scarce had he marched out before the enemy's parties began to appear; and, some days after, at a place called *Couallen*, attacked a Captain who had been detached with a hundred horse to levy contributions.

The enemy's corps consisted of twenty-eight companies, and two hundred *German* horse; a number so superior to the *Swedes*, that the Captain, fearing to engage them in open field, as liable to be there surrounded, and quite cut off, retreated with his men to a church-yard in a village, where he posted them behind the wall which surrounded it, and made a continual and well-managed fire upon the enemy: who then ordered their dragoons to alight, and gather together posts and planks, to serve instead of fascines in scaling the Church-yard. At the same time a great number of *Poles* being mounted on the roof of the Curate's house, which was quite close to the church-yard, did some execution among our troops with their fire-arms. To put an end to which mischief the Captain, with one half of his troops, sallied out and dispersed the dragoons, who had undertaken to scale the walls, while the other half set fire to the Curate's house: which, though the *Poles* presently extinguished, yet that brave officer held them so stubbornly at bay, gave them so much employment on all hands, and particularly by two subsequent sallies which he made upon them, that, in the end, he dislodged them from

from the house, and set it again on fire. Many of the *Poles* perished in the flames, and the rest were kept aloof. All this, however, did not hinder the enemy from returning twice more to the assault; but, being always repulsed with the same vigour, they grew discouraged, and at last left us masters of the field. 1705.

This combat lasted from seven in the morning till four in the afternoon without intermission. The enemy then retired to *Lowitz*, in expectation of a reinforcement, carrying with them a great number of wounded men, and leaving the ground, round the church-yard, covered with dead bodies.

Lieutenant-General *Nieroth*, who was quartered in the territory of *Gnese*, having been advertised of this action, instantly dispatched Major *Piper* with three hundred and fifty horse, to be at the heels of the enemy, who surprized them in the night at *Lowitz*, Feb. 28. or rather March 1. and attacked them so briskly, that, after having killed a great number, he put the rest to flight, and took their baggage and ammunition.

The *Poles*, who were forty companies strong, ashamed to be beaten by such a handful of men, returned again to the combat, and ranged themselves in order of battle: upon which *Piper* did the same; and having with him some *Lithuanian* companies *de Sapieba*, and certain *Valoches*, he ordered them to begin the attack. But, seeing they had no stomach to engage, he broke through them with his squadron, and, after a slight resistance, put them to the rout. A great number of *Poles* fell likewise in this rencontre. Seventeen *Saxons*, with two Corporals, and some *Poles*, were made prisoners, and two

1705. two standards, two ensigns, and one pair of kettle-drums taken.

March 1. Prince *Lubomirski*, of whom we have already spoke, repaired to the King's quarters at *Ravitz*, with fifteen hundred *Hungarians*, and one company of *Poles*, bringing with him a Major, three Captains, one Lieutenant, and eleven Subalterns, whom he had made prisoners at *Cracow*, and whom he presented to his Majesty. He was very graciously received, and his troops were immediately ordered into quarters near those of General *Stromberg*.

Some days after, that General received orders to march with two regiments of foot, and some horse strait to *Cracow*, as well to chase thence the *Saxons*, as to oblige that *Palatinate* to acknowledge King *Stanislaus*, which the greater part of the nobility were already disposed to do; especially as all the representations they had made to King *Augustus*, to induce him to return to *Poland*, had appeared ineffectual.

The *Saxons*, advertised of the march of our troops, did not think it proper to wait for them, but retired with precipitation from *Cracow*. They even passed the *Vistula*, and made long marches towards *Sandomir* and *Lublin* to avoid the encounter.

There now remained no more than the Partizan *Smigelski* on this side the *Vistula*, who made frequent attempts, but never did any great mischief. One day, *March 20*, he attacked the troops of Prince *Lubomirski*; a Colonel was killed in the action, but he was put to flight as usual.

Swinarski was surprized on the frontier of *Silesia*, by a party of *Sweedes*, who took him prisoner:

soner: but he had the good fortune to make his escape some time after. 1705.

March 28. *Lubomirski*, having acknowledged King *Stanislaus*, and taken the oaths of fidelity and obedience, departed from *Ravitz*, greatly pleased with the gracious reception he had met with from his Majesty, in his way to *Cracow*, together with his troops, which were reinforced with some hundreds of *Swedes*, in order to join General *Stromberg*.

It has already been said, that Lieutenant-General *Horn* had negotiated at *Dresden* an exchange of prisoners. As soon therefore as the affair was regulated, the *Swedes*, who had been under guard in *Saxony*, were escorted to the frontier of *Sorau*, where the Baron *Charles Horn*, Colonel of the regiment *de Breme*, horse, had orders to receive them, and afterwards to deliver the *Saxons*, who were all new-clothed by order of his Majesty.

In this interval, King *Stanislaus* returned to his castle of *Ridzin*. The Queen his spouse, and Madam Royal his Majesty's mother, arriving there likewise from *Prussia* at the same time.

The Queen having notified her arrival to his *Swedish* Majesty by Major-General *Sauerbre*, that Prince immediately dispatched a Chamberlain with his compliments; and, in the morning, mounted on horseback to make her the first visit, being accompanied by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, and certain Generals and Officers of his court.

The Queen received that Prince in her anti-chamber, and his Majesty led her by the hand into her apartment, where they both sat down. The King spoke but little, and in *German*, to the Queen, who had some small knowledge of that

1705. that language; and, after an hour's stay, took his leave in the politest manner, and returned to *Ravitz*.

That little city was now filled with fine company, and we diverted ourselves there with so much the more pleasure, as all amusements had been for many years unknown in the court of *Charles XII*. The place itself is situated so advantageously, that travellers may repair thither both from *Pomerania* and *Silesia*, without being obliged to pass a great way through *Poland*. His Majesty had beside permitted his ministers, and the officers of his court, to enjoy there the company of their ladies, which gave place to a great number of balls and assemblies.

The Countess of *Piper*, spouse to the Senator of that name, had brought thither her sister from *Sweden*, who was contracted to Lieutenant-General *Arwid Horn*, newly delivered from confinement at *Dresden*.

These nuptials were now celebrated with great magnificence: the Queen of *Poland* took that opportunity to return his Majesty's Visit. King *Stanislaus* likewise made his appearance there with all his court. Both were received with all possible regard; and it may be said, that his Majesty performed the honours of the feast with as much politeness, as grandeur and dignity.

While these diversions were thus carried on in the King's quarters, certain incidents took place, which then appeared purely casual, but were afterwards proved to be owing to a very different origin. One fine morning, at ten o'clock, a fire broke out in a house near the lodgings of the Prince of *Wurtemberg*: his Majesty immediately ran thither, and, not content to encourage his people at a distance to extinguish

1705.
tinguish the flames, he himself got up into the granary of the very house, that was now on fire, and continued there to give his orders, though all the apartments below were already near reduced to ashes ; a piece of the roof which was at that instant beat down, by way of stifling the fire, discovered him to those without surrounded with smok, and fire, and flames. What an affecting sight for all those faithful Swedes, who had so often hazarded their lives for a Prince, they now saw on the very brink of destruction ? But, in spite of all the prayers which they poured forth to prevail with him, to attempt to save himself, he was not to be moved, and the fire had already taken hold of the stairs, which was the only way he had to escape ; when the young and gallant Prince of *Wurtemberg* darted through the middle of the smoke, and urged him in so earnest and passionate a manner, that at last he condescended to think of retiring. But he had scarce quitted the place where he had stood so long, as if in contempt of danger, but the floor fell in, and a ladder being at the same instant thrown down, it fell upon him and beat him to the ground. Upon which the fears and outcries of the people on all sides were redoubled ; but he instantly got up again, and without the least alteration in his countenance, calmly told those who had run to his assistance, *'Twas nothing*. But notwithstanding all the pains which his Majesty took to extinguish the fire, it could not be mastered till it had burnt twenty-two houses to the ground.

Within a few days after a second broke out, and no body could tell how ; nor, till some years after, was the mystery explained : When
a man

1705. a man, having entreated an audience of his Majesty, insisting that he had matters of great consequence to communicate, confessed he had received money from a certain court to set fire to the King's quarters, which he effected twice as above, in hope of an opportunity during the hurry to assassinate his Majesty. That he was each time close by him, with a design to strike the blow, but that his heart always failed him. The King, after listening to this horrid tale with perfect serenity, only smiled, and said to those about him, *The man is mad. Let him go about his business.*

Lieutenant-General *Stromberg* had conducted himself so handsomely, and preserved such exact discipline in his little army, that almost all the Nobility of the *Palatinate* of *Cracow* resolved to quit the party of King *Augustus*, and declare for his competitor.

King *Stanislaus* had writ circular letters to that *Palatinate*, to dispose them to assemble themselves, and hold a diet in what place they pleased. They chose the city of *Prozovice*, where nine hundred gentlemen assembled in the beginning of *May*, and agreed unanimously to renounce the confederacy of *Sandomir* accede to that of *Warsaw*, and consequently to acknowledge King *Stanislaus* for their Liege-Lord and Sovereign. At the same time, they entreated his *Swedish* Majesty to renew the negotiations with the Republic, which he had begun the preceding year.

When the King had granted their request, they resolved to send several deputations. The first to King *Stanislaus* to acknowledge him in form, and swear fidelity to him: the second to the King of *Sweden*, to beseech him to wave
his

1705.

his contributions: the third to the Primate, to exhort him to fix a day for the King's coronation, at which they desired him to assist in person: the fourth to the Crown-General, to invite him to join the Nobles of that *Palatinate*, and be present at the coronation: the fifth to the neighbouring *Palatinates*, to induce them to desert the confederacy of *Sandomir*, and come over to theirs: the sixth to the crown-army, to dispose them to return to their obedience to the Crown-General, for the service of the Republic, and attend at the coronation: and the seventh and last to the Pope's Nuntio, to beseech him to mediate with his holiness not to proceed against the Cardinal-Primate, or against the Bishop of *Posnania* in any manner whatever.

The Cardinal having received at *Dantzick* the deputies they had sent, and having agreed with his Majesty, as before mentioned, to acknowledge King *Stanislaus*, sent forth the *Univerſalia* in his name, to convene Dietines first of all, according to custom, *June 16.* in all the *Palatinates* of the realm of *Poland*; and afterwards, *July 1.* a general diet of *Warsaw*, inviting the deputies of the *Palatinates* to repair thither at that time, with their full powers.

At the same time, the Marshal of the confederacy at *Warsaw*, who had retired, together with the Cardinal, to *Dantzick*, sent also in his own name *Univerſalia*, of the same date with those of the Cardinal's, to all the *Palatinates*, with the same view of convoking a general Diet at *Warsaw*.

King *Augustus*, who was all this while absent, and now saw the ill consequences which threatened his affairs in *Poland*, if not instantly prevented, applied himself with all the attention possible

1705. possible to find out expedients for that end. Informed of, and surprized at these steps of the Primate and the Marshal, he endeavoured to thwart them by a letter to the Senators, and his *Universalia*, which he dispersed through all the *Palatinates* of the kingdom.

It was in these *Universalia*, he published the reasons which had obliged him to make so long a stay in his hereditary dominions : one of which was an indisposition that had hung upon him, and another the representations which had been made to him of the danger of such a journey, while the *Swedes* were always in the field to observe him. He assured the Republic, nevertheless, that he would be careful of their interests ; that he had them always at heart ; and that he would join his army, which was already considerably reinforced, to that of the crown : and in fine, he exhorted them to put their troops upon a good footing, and to continue stedfast and loyal. These letters were writ from *Carlsbad* in *Bohemia*, where that Prince then was for the benefit of the waters.

Augustus also was very solicitous to engage the Pope of his side ; by whose means he hoped to conjure down the storm now raised in *Poland*. In this view, he sent the Count *de Lagnasco* to *Rome*, and, as that wily minister knew how to take advantage of the Pontiff's pretensions to the temporals of Princes, he obtained a brief to the Archbishops and Bishops of *Poland*, dated *May 31.* by which they were forbid, on the penalties of the censures of the church, from being present, or assisting at the coronation of the new King.

The dietines were held in many of the *Palatinates*, agreeable to the circular letters of the Primate, and they had all the success imaginable; especially in the places, which were unmolested with the enemy's troops.

The Nobles of the *Palatinate* of *Sandomir*, lately so zealous for King *Augustus*, in favour of whom they had made that famous confederacy, which bears its name, assembled themselves, in the beginning of *June*, in the city of *Opatow*, where Lieutenant-General *Stromberg*, at their request, posted the regiment of *Clerk*, to protect them from all insults.

This *Palatinate* followed the example of that of *Cracow*; and, though a great number of the partizans of King *Augustus* endeavoured to invalidate their conclusions by entering their protests, those of King *Stanislaus* pushed them on so vigorously, that they proceeded to dissolve the confederacy of *Sandomir*, to declare it null and void, and acknowledge *Stanislaus* to be rightful King of *Poland*.

They then deputed the Marshal of the dietine, the Constable of *Sandomir*, and several other persons of quality, to King *Stanislaus*, to communicate to him the result: and, though these deputies were intercepted by *Smigelski*, and conducted to *Brzeczi*, it did not hinder the Nobility from assembling at *Opatow*, and confirming all the resolutions they had before taken. After which they chose four deputies more, and dispatched them to the general diet at *Warsaw*, in behalf of that Prince.

The Pope's brief, upon which King *Augustus* had founded such great hopes, at last arrived in *Poland*, and therein, "The Pontiff declared his displeasure against the whole ecclesiastic

1705. “ state of the realm, for having acted with
 “ such violence against that Prince, and dis-
 “ posing themselves even to crown *Stanislaus*.
 “ He exhorted them to proceed no farther in it;
 “ and, in case of refusal, he menaced those
 “ who interfered in it directly or indirectly,
 “ with the apostolic censures and excommu-
 “ nication.

It was at first believed that this brief would have thunder-struck the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of the realm, and that they would not dare to infringe it: many devotees, bigotted to the Holy See, being of opinion they ought both to respect and fear the thunder of the *Vatican*. But the Nobles, however submissive they are in *Poland* to the papal power, began then to regard with very different eyes the imperious conduct of the court of *Rome*: and, as they regarded this as an affair purely political, which had no sort of connexion with religion, they maintained with vigour, that the Bishop of *Rome* had no right to meddle with their government, which was a Republic independent and free.

The Nobles of *Great Poland*, not content with publishing a letter, both elegant and solid, against the Pope's brief, and his imaginary power, resolved, yet farther, to protest by a public manifesto against that decree, and every thing that the Pontiff should undertake to the prejudice of King *Stanislaus*. They protested, at the same time, against the detaining the Bishop of *Poznań*, who was arrested at *Rome*, and declared that the states of *Poland* would never suffer that a licence should be taken by that court, to confine a Senator of their republic.

Thus

Thus King *Augustus*, far from attaining the end he aimed at, only inflamed matters yet more, and exasperated the fierce *Poles*, who are extremely jealous of their rights and privileges. 1706.

The deputies of many *Palatinates* being then assembled at *Warsaw*, *Bronitz*, the Marshal of the confederacy arrived there likewise, *July 1.* upon which the diet opened forthwith, though there were yet but few members.

The Marshal made a very fine speech to the deputies, to convince them, that, whether they were few or many, they ought to proceed in treating with the *Swedes* to re-establish the peace they panted for; and then adjourned the session till the eighth.

He then opened the business of the day with an obliging and delicate compliment to those who were present, for having so punctually attended the diet, and overlooked all private considerations, for the sake of deliberating on such measures as would most advance the public good. After which, they all unanimously accepted the confederacy of last year, and then proceeded to the election of a new Marshal, when the choice again fell on *Bronitz*. Who, taking up his function anew, proposed to the deputies three points: The first to write to the Cardinal Primate, to invite him in the name of the Nobility, to repair forthwith to the diet: The second, to write likewise to the King of *Sweden*, to request him to send thither his commissioners, to put a finishing hand to the treaty: And the third, to beseech the new King to prevail with his *Swedish* Majesty to provide for the safety of the other deputies of *Great Poland*, who, without that, durst not set out to assist at the diet, on account of the continual excursions

1705. of *Smigelski*. The diet approved of all, but the decision was deferred till the arrival of the other deputies, and the Cardinal, who gave continual expectations of his speedy attendance.

While these things were transacting, the King of *Sweden* busied himself perpetually in putting his army on a good footing, that he might finish the affairs of *Poland* in the glorious manner he designed. The months of *May* and *June* were employed wholly in reviewing the troops; his Majesty visiting all his regiments round, and having the pleasure to see they were all fit for service.

About this time, a great number of strangers of distinction arrived at *Ravitz*, and, among the rest, a Prince of the House of *Bevern*, and and Prince *Charles Leopold de Mecklenbourg*, who followed his Majesty till the year 1706. The Princess *Palatine de Stegeborg*, Cousin to the King, likewise repaired thither from *Sweden*, as did the Dutcheßes of *Bernstadt Juliusburg*, and *Mecklenburg-Strelitz*, on their domestick affairs.

A certain *Italian*, who called himself a Prince of the House of *Mazarani*, also arrived there, and, as he changed his religion, the King allowed him a pension, which he possessed two years with very little satisfaction, and then died in *Poland* oppressed with troubles and diseases.

Here the Prince *de Saxe-Gottha*, a Lord of great spirit and resolution, who had followed the army for some years, having had a quarrel with a *Swedish* Colonel, named *Lagercrona*, since Major-General, which he gallantly terminated, took leave of his Majesty, and went into the service of the Emperor: finishing his career gloriously the next year before the city of
Toulon,

Toulon, greatly regretted by all the brave men of our army, who loved and esteemed him as he deserved. 1705.

For what regarded the *Saxons*, who retired in haſt from *Cracow* on the approach of General *Stromberg*, and took the road to *Lublin*, when they heard that Count *Potocki*, Palatine of *Kiovia*, was advancing towards them from *Volhynia*, they withdrew into the country yet farther ſtill, till they reached the city of *Breſzici*, on the frontiers of *Lithuania*.

Here they were joined by certain detachments of the crown-army, commanded by *Comentofski*, *Polanietſki*, the Referendary *Reyvatſki*, and ſome others, who till then had continued on this ſide the *Viſtula*. They afterwards encamped along the *Bug*, as well to have an eye on the aſſembly at *Warſaw*, as to be nearer the Czar, who, together with his army, was now in *Lithuania*, and promiſed to enter ſpeedily into *Poland*.

That Prince had given orders to Field-Maſſhal *Scheremetoff* to lead the way with fifteen or twenty thouſand men, while he followed himſelf with the main body of his army, marching thro' the *Palatinate* of *Polockſko* towards *Vilna*. His numerous artillery took the ſame road, with all the requiſites for a ſiege. At the city of *Polockſko* he halted, from whence it was eaſy to deſcend upon the *Duna* even to *Riga*, the place which the Czar flattered himſelf he ſhould either conquer, or, at leaſt, lay in ruins with his bombs.

But, before he attempted a deſign of ſuch importance, he judged it abſolutely neceſſary to deſtroy that body of *Swediſh* troops which was then in *Courland*, under the command of Ma-

1795. jor-General Count *de Lowenhaupt*, which he believed easily done, as scarce amounting in all to seven thousand men. For this end, he sent orders to Field-Marshal *Scheremetoff* to enter forthwith into *Courland*, and offer battle to *Lowenhaupt*.

The *Muscovite* army consisted of fourteen thousand horse and dragoons, four thousand foot, and two thousand *Cosaques* or *Tartars*; and marched on without impediment, till they were in the very heart of *Courland*.

Count *Lowenhaupt*, who had excellent spies, had intelligence of the Czar's design from the beginning of the year, and thenceforward made it his business to collect together all the troops he could; which effected, he posted Colonel *Knorring*, with a part of his regiment, in the city and castle of *Mitau*, and resolutely expected the enemy at *Gemauertboff*, a lordship but little removed from *Mitau*; where was fought a most bloody battle, as appears by the following relation, writ by an officer who was present, and afterwards transmitted to the Chancery.

The Czar, having for many years past formed a design to drive the *Swedes* out of *Courland*, resolved, while the victorious arms of his *Swedish* Majesty were employed in *Poland*, to take the advantage of that opportunity, to become the more easily master of *Livonia*. For which end, he had this year made more than ordinary preparations: his troops being better disciplined, better cloathed than before, all in the *German* manner, and commanded by experienced Generals.

As this Prince believed it necessary to surprize Count *de Lowenhaupt*, before he could augment the number of his troops, he ordered Field-

Field-Marshal *Scheremetoff*, with twenty thousand select men, to go in quest of him, who, tho' obliged to wind thro' tedious doubles along the sides of the *Duna*, yet, by long marches, gained ground apace, in the firm belief, that, with such a superior force, they should easily master the *Swedes*, possess all *Courland*, and carry on the siege of *Riga* without interruption; their artillery being all ready at *Polocsko*, and upon the point of being sent down the river, to push that important enterprize with all possible vigour.

Count *Lowenbaupt*, who had early advice of the enemy's design, had taken his measures so well, that it was impossible for them to surprize him with all their diligence. Accordingly, on the first intelligence of the approach of the *Russians*, he ordered all the troops to rendezvous at the little town of *Jagari* in *Samogitia*; where he received a reinforcement of a thousand foot from Count *Frolich*, General and Governor of *Riga*, commanded by Colonel *Stackelberg*.

All the troops, regiments, and detachments, being assembled at *Jagari*, except Colonel *Gabriel Horn*, and Colonel *Gustavus Charles de Schreiterfeld*, who, because of the distance of their quarters could not reach it so soon, Count *Lowenbaupt* himself set out from *Mitau*, and arrived at the rendezvous the same night.

In the morning, *July 13*. Colonel *Horn* joined us with his horse and some foot detached from *Libau*. The same day a groom arrived at the camp from *Mitau*, with the vexatious news that General *Bauer*, at the head of two thousand *Russian* horse, had, between three and four o'clock in the morning, surprized the guard of

1705. one of the gates of *Mitau*, entered the city, and put to the sword all they met of the garrison; the rest having saved themselves in the castle. That Colonel *Knorring*, who was then in the city, was forced to make his escape at a back-door, after a valiant defence through the doors and windows: but that the enemy had taken the colours of his regiment, and all the baggage.

Upon receiving this news, Count *Lowenbaupt*, without delaying a moment, took all the horse and dragoons, together with those of Colonel *Horn*, who had rested themselves but a few hours, and pushed on, at full gallop, through *Gemauertboff* to *Mitau*, giving orders to Colonel *Stackelberg*, who commanded the infantry, to march to *Gemauertboff*, and there wait till farther orders.

The 14th, at day-break, the General arrived at *Mitau*, having marched all night in hope to have surprized the enemy there, or at least followed close at their heels; but was informed, they were already retired to their camp near *Ullsoten*, four leagues from *Mitau*, having gained no other advantage by this expedition, but an opportunity to leave behind them the most horrible marks of their cruelty.

When our troops, who were dreadfully fatigued, had reposed themselves till five o'clock in the evening, the General gave orders to remount, and marched all night through the most dreadful roads, in the most shocking darkness, accompanied with continual rains, which rendered the service yet more painful. At five o'clock in the morning, however, we made a shift to reach *Gemauertboff*, Colonel *Schreiterfeld* being already there with the foot; so that now all the troops
his

his Majesty had in *Courland*, were assembled in 1705. one body.

The 15th, the army rested.

The 16th, at ten in the morning, the alarm was given that two companies of *Cosaques* were carrying off certain of our maroders : and, upon the first fire, Lieutenant-Colonel *Magnus von Bromsen* was detached with about a hundred horse to give them chace. After which he was ordered to post himself half a league from the camp, to observe if it was the whole army of the enemy that approached.

About two o'clock he returned with news, that the enemy appeared in great numbers, upon which the General forthwith commanded the whole army to pass the rivulet, which was near *Gemauertboff*, and range themselves in order of battle on the other side : which place he chose, as being so narrow in front, that his troops, which were not very numerous, could make head without being obliged to extend their line, and without danger of being surrounded.

At the same time he himself advanced with *Bromsen* to reconnoitre the enemy ; and, being convinced it was their whole army coming to engage him, he returned immediately to his own, whom he ranged in two lines : The first exceeding close, and the second with certain intervals.

On our right we had a great morass, and our left was covered by the brook in such a manner, that there was no passing our front on either side. The cannon was posted between the battalions and squadrons of the two lines, on each wing, and the baggage made up the rear : the day being almost spent before the whole army was ranged.

Count

1705.

Count *Lowenhaupt* then addressing himself to the Lord of hosts and victories, ordered the prayers usual upon the like occasions; the cavalry alighting, and the whole two lines kneeling upon the field. The prayer ended with a verse taken from a hymn, which was echo'd by the whole army, and then the signal was given, *with the help of God, and in the name of Jesus.*

Immediately Count *Lowenhaupt* gave orders to Col. *Stackelberg*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Lawrence-Loscher de Hertzfeld*, with four squadrons of horse, to advance some thousands of paces to observe the aspect of the enemy, and retire when he should see them approach. But the wood which was to our left, hindered them from discerning the motions of the enemy, who, passing the brook, and almost surrounding them, began the attack immediately with abundance of impetuosity, but received in return so smart a volley, that they retired some paces, and gave our troops opportunity to recover the army.

Count *Lowenhaupt*, then judging, perfectly well, that, as the enemy advanced with a very broad front, they would be obliged, for want of ground, to form themselves anew, resolved to give them no time, but ordered both lines to charge immediately; which was so happily effected, that the whole front began the attack at once.

Their cavalry which was on our left wing, having dismounted the foot they carried behind them, fell on our squadrons with great fury, both with their fire-arms and swords; but were received with so much vigour, that a great slaughter ensued on both sides. At last, certain *Russian* squadrons having passed the brook, a little below, to attack us in flank, our cavalry,

on the left, found themselves so hard pushed, 1705.
that, in the first shock, they fell back on a company of Count *Lowenhaupt's* grenadiers, posted between the two lines; which putting them in disorder too, and the whole wing finding itself straitened for want of room, the victory was in suspense, till the horse of the second line, together with the foot, came into the support of the first, which was on the point of breaking, and gave them both time to rally, and even to repulse the enemy.

It was then the *Russian* infantry, who had rode behind the cavalry, being abandoned by the horse, and enclosed between our two lines, were all cut to pieces.

As to our right wing, it had bore down all before it. The Colonels *Horn* and *Schreiterfeld*, with their regiments of horse and dragoons, as well as the foot who were to support them, appearing irresistible; the first charging the enemy sword in hand, the latter with their musquets and bayonets; and the enemy's horse being no sooner routed, but they fell in upon their infantry, and put them almost all to the sword.

The field of battle enlarging in proportion as the enemy gave ground and we advanced, Count *Lowenhaupt* perceived the advantage arising from the disposition he had made of certain battalions and squadrons between the two lines, since they immediately lengthened out the front towards the right, in such a manner, that the whole space was still filled as before.

While we pushed the enemy thus vigorously on that side, where all was in the most perfect order, and bore the most noble aspect, a strong party of their horse, which had, at first, disordered our left, being reinforced with a great number

1705. number of squadrons from their right, repassed the brook, and together with the *Cosagues* and *Poles*, fell in upon our baggage, which they pillaged, and then attacked our rear with all the fury imaginable. The same instant likewise, the rest of the enemy's troops in front taking courage, returned to the charge; so that our two lines were both engaged at once, as well in front as in rear, to the right as left; and, what was worst of all, neither of them would come to engage with their whole strength. The enemy, though always repulsed, returning again to the attack, and, as they were superiour in number, falling upon us on all sides with abundance of fury.

But, in spite of all, our two lines, after a horrible slaughter, and having sustained a most dreadful fire with all possible bravery and firmness, at last repulsed the enemy on both sides, the second line routing and pursuing their left over the brook, sword in hand; and obliging them to abandon certain cannon which were left in the water. They nevertheless drew up in order of battle on the other side; and General *Lowenbaupt*, observing the disorder of our troops, and the great intervals between the battalions and squadrons, occasioned by the very extraordinary manner in which they had been obliged to engage, would not suffer them to charge again, till, running from rank to rank, he had again drawn them up in order of battle.

But while he was thus employed in rallying our left, which was far divided from the right, the cavalry of the last, impatient to finish the dispute, passed the brook, and attacked the enemy anew; being followed by the foot, who likewise passed the brook, and supported the

cavalry with an extraordinary vigour. Count 1705.

Lowenhaupt observing this voluntary motion of our troops, and the intrepidity with which they behaved, after having entirely ranged the left, commanded them to pass the brook too with all possible expedition, and form themselves into one line conjunctively with the right on the other side. The order was well obeyed in the midst of a brisk and continual fire, and, though the enemy's cavalry attacked us in the interval with inexpressible fury, and at many returns; our infantry, who had now rendered themselves formidable in sustaining the horse so well, that they kept the enemy at bay, and gave them time to prepare themselves again for action.

While this was in agitation, our infantry on the right was employed in the same gallant manner: for our horse being too far divided from them, were repulsed in great confusion, and owed their safety to the noble stand made by the first; behind whom they rallied, and who, during that interval, not only sustained the utmost efforts of the enemy, but obliged them to retire in disorder.

Count *Lowenhaupt*, who was very sensible that while our two wings were thus divided we could never finish so obstinate a struggle with the glory he desired, ordered the right to halt at once, till the left, which was marching full speed, came up: When, the whole army being now formed into one front, we paused a little while to observe the disposition of the enemy: it already growing dark, and both men and horses excessively fatigued, in a combat which had lasted four hours and a half, with an almost unparalleled obstinacy on both sides.

The

1705.

The enemy, surprized at the fine arrangement of our army, which was prepared to conquer or die, in that instant, lost all their resolution, and, without observing any order, fled precipitately to their baggage, which was about half a league from the field of battle; where, exasperated to have been routed by an army so inferior in number, they fell in a transport of rage upon the prisoners they had taken at *Mitau*, and, with a barbarity beyond example, put the poor, helpless wretches to the sword; of all whom two officers only recovered, who, being cruelly wounded, were left for dead among the rest, and who afterwards recounted to the General this affecting tragedy.

At the same time, the enemy, taking all the baggage they could carry off, fled full speed to their first camp; from whence *Marshal Scheremetoff* set out forthwith, though wounded, to bear the news of his own misfortune to the Czar, who was then at *Wilna*: where he arrived just as that Prince was employed in reviewing his army, surrounded with several of the *Polish* and *Lithuanian* Nobility.

We took on the field of battle thirteen pieces of brass-cannon, all the enemy's carriages and tents, eight ensigns, and one standard; without reckoning those which the peasants found after the action, and which our troops had not time to gather up in the heat of the combat.

After the action was over, the army rested all night upon their arms in order of battle; and the peasants pillaged, in the mean while, what baggage the enemy had left in their camp, and what they had scattered in their flight. We counted at least five or six thousand *Russians* killed upon the spot; and, since, the prisoners
have

have confessed, that their infantry, amounting to four thousand men, were all cut off, together with a great number of officers; and that many more were wounded than killed; among whom was General *Sberemetoff* himself, who received a musket-shot in his belly, and General *Bauer*, who was wounded in the thigh. The officers and soldiers, who were taken prisoners, were immediately sent, together with the trophies, to *Riga*. 1705.

We ourselves lost in this action many brave officers, viz. Colonel *Gabriel Horn*, the Lieutenant-Colonels *Dankwart* and *Kaulbars*, Count *Lindscbold*, and Baron *Wrangel*; certain Captains both of horse and foot, with about seven hundred men, who were killed outright, beside the wounded.

Such was the manner in which so signal a victory was obtained by our troops, over a much more numerous, (especially in horse) and at the same time, a well-disciplined army.

The Czar, after the loss of this battle, changed his design forthwith, either of besieging or bombarding *Riga*, and countermanded his heavy artillery, which was already coming down the *Duna* from *Poloczko* toward *Riga*. But, as he openly threatened to return speedily, with forces yet more formidable, *Lowenhaupt*, who durst not run the hazard of a second pitched battle with so potent an enemy, resolved to post himself in such a manner, that he might be always sure of a safe retreat to *Riga*: which he executed some time after; being obliged, notwithstanding the glory of his triumph, to leave *Courland* exposed to all the enterprizes of the Czar; leaving only a garrison in *Mitau* and the

1705. the castle of *Bausk*, to retard at least the first attempts of the enemy.

Upon the instances of King *Stanislaus* and of the assembly at *Warsaw*, his *Swedish* Majesty having detached Lieutenant-General *Nieroth* with three regiments of cavalry to cover the diet, and the deputies in their journey thither, that General encamped below the city, on the side of the *Vistula*.

As nothing could be more necessary than, while the diet sat and deliberated on a peace with *Sweden*, to cover that illustrious assembly from all insult ; it was resolved to send thither likewise two regiments of foot, who were moreover to serve as an escort to King *Stanislaus* at the same time ; who, after having took leave of the King, and received the visits of all the court from *Ravitz*, set out for *Warsaw* with the three *Swedish* Ambassadors, which were present at his election the year before.

King *Augustus* could not well avoid making all his efforts to interrupt a feast, which was to be made at his expence, and disperse the nobility who were met to crown his rival ; and therefore had sent proper orders to Lieutenant-General *Paikul*, who commanded in chief in *Poland* those troops, which had fled, at the approach of *Stromberg*, towards *Cracow* ; and afterwards retired to *Breszizi*, and from thence to the *Bug*.

That General, believing himself superior to the *Swedes*, by the number of his own troops, and the additional strength of 80 or 90 companies of the crown-army, which were but a little way removed from his camp, joined forces with them directly ; and, after having held a council of war, it was resolved to attack *Nieroth* out
of

of hand, before he could be succoured by the 1705. infantry which were to join him.

Nieroth, on the other hand, was early informed by his spies of these motions of *Paikul*; but as the *Vistula*, both above and below the city, was in many places so low, that the cavalry could ford it over, he could not determine where to post his troops, to dispute their passage. He, therefore, ordered out two detachments of a hundred and eighty horse each, one under the command of *Stablhammar* towards *Gura*, and the other, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Clas Bonde*, towards *Kapum*, to observe what route they would take.

Clas Bonde marched down the *Vistula*, and, having learned, during the night, that the *Saxons* were in full march, about a league from thence, nearer *Warsaw*, to attempt a passage, forthwith put himself at the head of twenty horse, leaving the rest behind, and marched full speed towards them for better information: at his arrival, he found one party actually come over, whom he instantly attacked sword in hand with all imaginable bravery, hoping to oblige them to return the way they came: but the *Saxons* being superior in number, and reinforced besides every moment, that handful of gallant men were almost all killed upon the spot, together with their Lieutenant-Colonel.

The rest of the detachment, commanded by the Captains *Wrangel*, *Witting* and *Ellberg*, being come up by this time to support their leader, were so ill conducted, that, not being able to make head against a number so superior, one Captain and sixty-two men were slain: the remainder being obliged to fight their way thro' the enemy in order to make their escape, and in-

1705. form *Nieroth* of their misadventure, and the approach of *Paikul*; who, being now puffed up with so happy a beginning, and depending still on the superiority of his numbers, believed he should meet no farther obstacle; and that he should make as good a market of *Nieroth*, as of his detachment. Having then, *July* the 19th and 20th, passed the rest of his army over the *Vistula*, he marched, full of confidence, towards *Warsaw*.

Nieroth, informed of his approach, marched forthwith out of his camp with his little army, ranged in one single line, to render his front as wide as possible to encounter so potent an enemy, and, in this order, advanced fiercely towards the enemy. But the night approaching hindered the combat, and the General returned towards the city; his right being placed near the palace of *Lubomirski*, and his left extending from *Ujast* to the village of *Rakovist*.

In the morning, *July* 21. at four o'clock, General *Nieroth* gave orders to march towards the enemy. He had but three regiments of horse, as before mentioned, that of *Smoland*, the *Ostrogots*, and Colonel *Kruus*, which did not amount in all to more than two thousand men. *Nieroth* himself commanded the centre, *Kruus* the right, and *Burenschild* the left. The squadrons were ranged in one line, as before, two deep; and, in about two hours, came in sight of the enemy.

The *Saxons*, commanded by General *Paikul*, Major-General *Schülenbourg*, and Major *St. Paul*, were in the centre, consisting of twelve regiments, divided into forty-three little squadrons, ranged in three lines, which made in all four thousand horse. In the right wing Marshal
Commen-

Commentoffki, Marshal *Denhof*, and *Poloniecz*, 1705. commanded forty companies of the crown-army. And in the left, Prince *John Wisniowski*, and the Referendary *Ruvaiski* commanded fifty more of sixty men each: all which were *Poles*, and amounted to six thousand men, who were ranged in two very long lines.

It was about eight o'clock in the morning when the armies approached, the *Saxons* beginning the attack in front, while the *Poles*, extending their long lines to surround us, fell upon our squadrons both in flank and rear, infomuch that we seemed to be in no small danger.

Nieroth, as well as *Kruus* and *Burenschild*, had each so much to do to defend themselves, that neither of them were able to assist the others; nay, were even obliged to separate into different bodies: which *Paikul* observing, and what large intervals were left between our regiments, instantly detached six squadrons, who fell in flank upon the regiment of *Kruus*, threw some squadrons into disorder, and even took three standards. But, while the Colonel was using his utmost efforts to prevent the mischievous consequences of this dangerous shock, the left wing of the *Saxons*, repulsed by the vigorous resistance of our troops, who were resolved to maintain their ground, took to their heels, and were briskly pursued by *Nieroth*.

By this time *Kruus* likewise had the happiness to break the enemy on his side, and, in the end, put them totally to the route. *Burenschild*, who had till then the whole right of the enemy on his corps, began to breathe upon this alteration, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Sak*, at the same instant, running to his succour with certain squadrons of *Kruus's* regiment, and sixty foot, com-

1705. manded by Capt. *Kasle*, they afforded so much business to the *Poles* and *Saxons*, that they likewise, at last, followed the example of the rest, and fled full speed towards the village of *Vola*, where rallying, they were again attacked and routed, and their General *Paikul* taken prisoner. After which they posted on to the *Vistula*, which they passed in the utmost confusion.

We did not pursue them far, because a great number of *Tartars* and *Cosaques* who had fled towards the *Vistula*, wheeled suddenly about, and were pillaging our camp: but were soon dispersed by our squadrons, and a great part pushed into the river, where many of them were drowned.

After the action was over, which lasted from eight o'clock in the morning till two in the afternoon, *Nieroth*, having re-assembled all his troops, returned in good order to his camp, with his trumpets and kettle-drums sounding, and leading General *Paikul*, together with one Captain, five Lieutenants, two Field-Chaplains, five Corporals, one Trumpet, a hundred and seven *Saxons*, and certain *Poles* prisoners.

The *Saxons* lost in the battle Colonel *Wideman*, the Lieutenant-Colonels *Winckelman* and *Dieke*, many Captains, and about five hundred killed upon the spot, without reckoning the *Poles*, of whom many likewise perished in the *Vistula*.

Of our side, the regiment of *Smoland* had one Cornet killed, and seven wounded. That of *Ostrogothia*, the Captains *Lagerfelt*, *Bagge* and *Brummer*, five Lieutenants, sixty Subalterns, and seventy troopers killed; and the Captains *Bebrn*, *Ekebielm* and *Brun*, two Cornets, three Corporals, one Trumpet, and eighty-one wounded. The regiment of *Kruus* had two

Lieutenants, three Subalterns, and thirty-four men killed; and certain Lieutenants and Cornets, two Subalterns, and thirty men wounded. 1705.

It is not possible to express the terror which seized the deputies assembled at *Warsaw*, at the first news of the approach of the *Saxons* and *Poles*. They could not believe that *Nieroth* could make head against such a superior force, without being destroyed: in which conceit they set out all together, and each endeavour'd to make his escape as fast as possible.

The Marshal *Bronitz* alone, more firm than all the rest, not only remained behind, but shar'd in the danger of the day: after which he sent out couriers all round about, to recal the fugitive deputies, who, by little and little, returned to *Warsaw*, together with those who had been sent from the *Palatinates* of *Cracow* and *Sandomir*.

After which, in one of their sittings, the Marshal acquainted them that King *Stanislaus* was upon the road to *Warsaw*, together with the Ambassadors of *Sweden*, to put the last hand to the tranquillity of the kingdom, and the treaty with his *Swedish* Majesty.

But what most pacified their fears, was the arrival of Colonel *Dabldorff* with two regiments of foot, that of *Upland*, and that of *Dabl-Carlia*, which encamped together with *Nieroth* to cover the city of *Warsaw* from any new attack of the *Saxons*, which they had strongly threatened the assembly with. But, after the arrival of this reinforcement, instead of making any such attempt, they took their route to *Lituania*, in order to join the Czar, and avoid the hazard of any more trials of skill with our troops, whose valour they now understood so well.

1705.

The King of Sweden had now compleated the review of his cavalry in the neighbourhood of *Ravitz*, and made them go thro' their exercises after a new regulation, (since printed) which was the fruit of his leisure hours, during the winter; and which was admired by the most experienced Generals and Officers, who were astonished at the penetration of that Prince, in forming so many judicious evolutions, both useful and necessary for engaging with security and advantage.

His Majesty had likewise done the same by three regiments of dragoons, which were newly arrived from *Pomerania*, and then gave orders for the whole army to take the field. The *Swedish* ladies, who were permitted to stay at *Ravitz* during the winter, first setting out from that place, and returning home by the way of *Breslau*.

As his Majesty judged it necessary to leave an army in *Great Poland*, both for its security, and to observe the motions of the *Saxons* on the frontier, General *Rheinschild* received orders to stay there with thirteen regiments, three of them cavalry, that of the *Nobles*, of *Scania*, and of *Nylande*; five of dragoons, the guards, *Buchwald's*, *Crassau's*, *Mellin's*, and *Marschalck's*; and five of foot, *de Wasmanlande* and *Sudermanlande*, *de Skaraborg*, *de Nerike*, *de Werm-lande*, *de Westerbothn*.

July 29. the King set out from *Ravitz*, with the rest of the army, taking the road to *Warsaw*, with the court and the *Drabans*; making that day a most violent march thro' *Koblin*, *Stun*, and *Taschbina*, as far as *Krotoczin*, (five leagues) the rendezvous of all the regiments of the King's division, who had orders to leave their quarters, and repair thither forthwith.

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The same day General *Paikul* arrived there under a strong escorte. Many letters were found about him, discovering the designs of the enemy, in particular, that the Czar engaged to be at *Warsaw* by the 20th of *August*, to break up the diet, and enclose the *Swedes* by the help of the *Saxons*, who were to enter into *Poland* on the other side.

The project was good ; but so far from giving the King any pain for the consequences, that he said, with a smile, to his ministers, *I wish the enemy may keep their word.*

July 31. the army marched three leagues to *Rasko*, the next day three more to *Kalis*, the next four to *Ravoitzin*, the next to the city of *Uniejoue*, (three leagues) the next to *Wirbofska*, (two and a half) where they rested one day. After which they advanced to the city of *Pionteck*, (four leagues) thence to *Lowitz*, (four more) and the next day six leagues, upon a stretch to *Blonir*, which is but four leagues from *Warsaw*, where the King had his head-quarters the year before. The army had now marched thirty leagues in eight days, and both men and horse being excessively fatigued, his Majesty ordered them to be cantoned out in the neighbourhood of *Blonia*, to take some repose.

King *Stanislaus*, together with his court, and the *Swedish* ambassadors, was already arrived at *Warsaw* the 11th, and the Queen some days after. The next morning, *Aug. 8.* the King of *Sweden* took a tour to see the field of battle, where *Nieroth* had beat the *Saxons*, after which, together with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who was never from his side, he repaired to the *Vistula*, to direct a bridge to be thrown over, to keep the communication free.

1705. August 21. the Ambassadors of Sweden had a private audience of King *Stanislaus*, as well to avoid the ceremonial, as because they had a public one the year before; when the Ambassador *Horn* presented a letter from the King his master, in which he assured his Majesty of *Poland*, of a strict and inviolable friendship; and likewise explained, that the end of this new embassy was to recommence the negotiations, and put the last hand to the treaty of alliance, necessary to be concluded for re-establishing the tranquillity of the two realms.

The conferences were opened in the cloister of the *Carmelites* at *Warsaw*, and because, since the last year, some of the *Polish* commissaries had quitted the confederacy at *Warsaw*, as the Crown-General, and others had been taken prisoners by the enemy, as the Bishop of *Poznan*, they chose in their stead the Bishop of *Caminiek*, together with two Senators, the Constables of *Siradia*, *Sandec*, and other *Polish* Lords.

The first proposals made by the *Swedish* Ambassadors, were to fix a day for the coronation; to make a more strict alliance against the Czar and King *Augustus*; and to restore the house of *Sapieha* to all their rights and privileges.

The *Poles*, on their side, insisted on the renewal and guarantee of the treaty of *Oliva*; that no province, territory, or city of the Republic of *Poland* should be dismembred; that no more contributions should be exacted; and that the *Swedes* should restore all the cannons, and train of artillery, which they had taken from the Republic during the course of the war. They likewise proposed many other articles, which were afterwards inserted in the treaty, as we shall see in the sequel.

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In the mean while the deputies continued their conferences with great assiduity. They agreed unanimously to reply to the Pope, touching his brief against the Clergy, and to complain of the long detainer of the Bishop of *Posnania* in the castle of *St. Angelo*. They were even so irritated against his holiness, that some deputies proceeded so far as to say, that he neither behaved as the vicar of Jesus Christ, or the successor of *St. Peter*; but as a *Pharoah*, who would assassinate liberty with faith, and faith with liberty.

1705.

The reply to the Pope was actually sent to *Rome*, Sept. 3. N. S. and addressed to the Queen of *Poland*, that she herself might present it to his Holiness. In the mean time the *Palatinates* of *Catis*, *Posnania*, and *Great Poland*, approved and confirmed anew the manifesto, which had been prepared against the Pope in favour of King *Stanislaus*. When all these things were thus settled, the 24th of *September* was appointed for his coronation: but it was not so easy to fix where the ceremony should be performed. By the laws and constitutions of *Poland*, as well as custom time out of mind, the King ought always to be elected at *Warsaw*, and crowned at *Cracow*; and many of the *Poles*, scrupulously attached to these formalities, insisted on their being observed, and that the King should repair to *Cracow* for that end. To which the *Swedish* Ambassadors, on the other hand, replied, that, to avoid the inconveniences easily to be foreseen in such a circumstance as the present, they might, for this once, very well dispence with an obsolete custom; that there was no time to be lost; that all delay, at such a crisis, might be attended with dangerous consequences;

1705. quences; and finally, that the necessity to dispatch forthwith an affair of such importance, ought to prevail over all the laws and customs of the kingdom; especially as the tranquillity and happiness of the public absolutely depended upon it.

The deputies, at last, gave way to these reasons; and it was only agreed to insert in the circular letters to notify the coronation, the following clause, *viz.* That, though that ceremony was now performed at *Warsaw*, it should not be esteemed a precedent for the future, or become of any prejudice to the laws and antient customs of *Poland*.

This difficulty removed, another arose with regard to the choice of a Prelate, who should perform the ceremonial. The Cardinal Primate was in a town dependent on *Poland*; but as he always declared in his letters that it was impossible for him to assist at the coronation, and that he would approve all that should be done in his absence, as if performed by himself, the Archbishop of *Leopol*, who was arrived at *Warsaw*, offered himself to officiate instead of the Cardinal.

When all these things were thus regulated, the necessary preparations were made for that superb solemnity. As King *Augustus* had with him the crown, ordinarily used at the coronation of the Kings of *Poland*, two others were ordered to be made forthwith of massy gold, garnished with jewels, both for the King and Queen, with all the other ornaments of royalty.

While these affairs were going forward at *Warsaw*, the Czar made long marches towards *Courland*: being irritated with the defeat of
Scheremetof,

Scheremetof, he had resolved to satiate his revenge ; and accordingly, his army commanded, under him, by *Menzikof*, *Ronne*, and *Repnin*, soon reduced the whole province except *Mitau* and *Bauske*. 1705.

Lowenbaupt, who foresaw the return of the *Russian* troops, and who was too weak to make head against so potent an enemy, was already retired under the cannon of *Riga*, in order to cover that city ; which he could the more easily do, as his best troops consisted in infantry.

This movement of his hindering the Czar from undertaking the siege of that place, he contented himself with sending a large detachment to observe *Lowenbaupt*, and cut off all communication between *Riga* and *Courland* : after which, to compleat the reduction of that province, *Aug. 15.* he entered into the city of *Mitau*, and, having forthwith invested the castle, summoned the Governor, Colonel *Joran Knorring* to surrender himself and his garrison prisoners of war. To which the other not only returned a fierce answer, but gave the Czar to understand, that if he made his attack on that side, (where the castle was most accessible) he would set the city on fire about his ears.

The citizens, terrified with this resolution of the Governor's, threw themselves at the feet of the Czar, and besought him not to expose them to the ruin they were threatened with. Their instances prevailed ; and he began his approaches on the other side of the river, though the work was much more difficult, because of the marshiness of the soil. This, however, was but a poor consolation for the garrison, who had no succours to expect, more especially as the batteries of cannons and mortars advanced insensibly,

1705. sensibly, and the enemy were soon in a condition to batter down the fortifications, which were, at best, but feeble. Accordingly, *Sept. 3.* the enemy, having thrown about a hundred bombs, and made a breach in the space of twenty-four hours with nine pieces of cannon, two bastions were already so dismantled, that the besiegers made all ready for an assault.

Upon which the Governor, willing to preserve the garrison, beat a parly the next morning, and demanded to capitulate: which being granted by General *Repnin*, who conducted that attack, he marched out with all the honours of war, such as drums beating, colours flying, twelve pieces of cannon, one mortar, thirteen cartridges for each cannon, and ammunition for the soldiers, who were escorted, by the regiment of dragoons *de Renne*, as far as *Riga*.

The castle of *Bauske*, which was yet less able to resist an enemy than that of *Mitau*, did not hold out so long; so that, after the conquest of these two places, the Czar became master of all *Courland*. After which, and after having left garrisons in both; as likewise a considerable body of troops under General *Bauer*, for the security of that province, and another in *Livonia* under Velt-Marshal *Scheremetof*, he resolved to keep his word with *Augustus*, in marching towards *Warsaw*, in order to break up the diet.

Accordingly, he entered into *Lithuania* at the head of his army, together with a hundred pieces of cannon, having left his heavy artillery at *Polocsko*. Being arrived at *Grodno*, he fortified that place, seized the pass of *Tykozin*, and established magazines in various places, which he filled, not only with what he drew from the country,

country, but what was transported from the provinces of *Plesko* and *Smolensko*. He likewise took possession of several posts on the side of *Warsaw*, as far as *Pultowick* and the *Bug*, inso-much that he was likewise absolute master of *Lituania*, and made it appear, by the measures he took, that he intended to keep it; which was afterwards more manifest, by certain intercepted letters: he had even already taken the title of Grand-Duke, and pretended to unite that great province to his other vast territories.

Polish Prussia was now exposed to the ravages of the crown-army. *Commentoffski* surprized a little detachment from *Elbing*, in the city of *Marionbourg*, who, after some little defence, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The city was afterwards plundered, and loaded, as well as the whole district, with heavy contributions.

Smigelski, likewise, entered into the Bishoprick of *Warmia*, and carried off from *Helisberg* and other places certain *Swedish* parties, who had been detached to levy contributions, and plundered them of the money they had collected: one *Swedish* Captain only, having re-assembled his men in time, made so gallant a defence, that *Smigelski*, after a long and obstinate attack, was obliged to quit his prey, and, in the apprehension that the garrison of *Elbing* would come to the succour of the Captain, retired out of the Bishoprick of *Warmia*. His troops having plundered the country of all they could carry off.

Over and above the march of the Czar, another tempest was ready to burst over *Poland*. The *Hitmann Mazeppa*, by the order of that Prince, advanced at the head of his *Cosaques*, amounting to forty or fifty thousand men, across the

1705. the *Ukrain*, and from *Volbinia* as far as *Zamojsk* upon the *Wieprz*, in the *Palatinate of Beltz*: And, having taken *Zamojsk*, after a short siege, imposed contributions, even to the *Vistula*, above *Lublin*.

It appeared then, by the approach of such large forces on all sides, that the war was breaking out anew; and that all these nations pretended to nothing less than to swallow us down whole: For now King *Augustus*, at the head of twenty thousand *Saxons*, was likewise ready to enter into *Poland*, and fall upon General *Rheinschild*. But happily all these dreadful phantoms disappeared, as if by miracle, within less than a year; that is to say, when *Charles XII.* entered with his army into *Lithuania*.

During this interval, Count *Potocki*, Palatine of *Kiovia*, arrived at *Warsaw* with his troops, among whom were eight hundred *Cal-muck Tartars*, whose flat and horrible faces, and strange way of living, afforded our army not a little both of wonder and entertainment.

They had all likewise horses as ugly and deformed as themselves, but so admirable for speed and labour, that the King, the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, and several others bought a great number of them, from forty to sixty ducats apiece. They being able, in two days time, to march thirty leagues and more upon a stretch.

Count *Potocki*, a little while after, joined the Great-General *Sapieha*, and both passed the *Vistula*, for the being more easily supplied with provisions. Prince *Wisniowski*, who was posted near *Wengorod*, at first seemed disposed to dispute their passage, but gave over his design, and moved quite off after the coronation.

When

When the Senators and Deputies of *Poland* had prepared the *Pacta-Conventa*, King *Stanislaus* repaired the eve of his coronation to the church of *St. John*, to swear to his solemn observance of it. *Sept. 23.* his Majesty set out from the palace *de Bieliniski*, where he lodged: the coaches of the Palatines and Deputies began the march, and those of the Bishops and Senators followed. The King's, in which he sat alone, was preceded by a number of Nobles on horseback, and by the life-guards who were on horseback too. While all the company ranged themselves on each side of the gate to receive his Majesty, the Archbishop of *Leopol*, *Scielinski*, robed pontifically, repaired to the grand altar, whither the King followed through the body of the church, which was illuminated with a double row of flambeaux, from end to end. Then the Archbishop read the *Pacta-Conventa*, and the formulary of the oaths, which his Majesty took upon his knees, and was afterwards reconducted to the palace in the same order; only with this difference, that the Archbishop, who had first laid aside his pontificals, sat backward in his Majesty's coach, together with *Spiski*, Bishop of *Caminieck*.

The day following, their Majesties repaired to the castle *incog.* having fasted three days successively to prepare themselves for that solemnity, together with the communion; and, while the Senators, Deputies and Nobles assembled, put on their robes. The King was armed at all points, and over his shoulders wore a *Polish* mantle of red velvet, lined with fables. The Queen was dressed like a bride in cloth of silver, with her hair dishevelled; her head and breast being adorned with jewels of great value.

At

1705. At ten o'clock, all being ready, the *Swedish* Ambassadors received a notification, upon which they, likewise, repaired to the castle, and were received according to their rank ; that is to say, in the outward court, by a Lieutenant-Colonel, with one battalion under arms, drums beating : then by the Sr. *Poninski*, the Marshal of the court, when alighting from their coaches at the foot of the great stair-case : on the first landing-place, Count *Sapieha*, *Piffart*, or Great-Commissary of *Lituania*, waited to conduct them to the guard-chamber ; where Mr. *Poniatowski* preceded them to the door of the anti-chamber. At which the Constable of *Siradia*, a Senator, with certain deputies, complimented them in behalf of the King and the Republick : And, within the anti-chamber, Count *Sapieha*, Grand-Treasurer of *Lituania*, who performed that day the office of Grand-Marshal, came forward to introduce them to their Majesties in the cabinet.

Here follows the manner of the ceremony in the church. At every gate was posted a guard of *Swedes*, together with a *Polish* officer to examine all who entered. In the choir, opposite to the great altar, and upon a level with it, was erected an estrade, on which, beneath two canopies, were placed two thrones, surrounded with the life-guard : one side of the choir being allotted to the *Swedish* officers, and the other for the *Grande*s and Deputies of *Poland*. Between the first row of pews and the altar were placed three elbow-chairs ; over which place was a little room, with a window into the church, from whence the Kings of *Poland* used to hear mass. This was set apart for the King of *Sweden*, who, together with Count *Piper*, the Princes of *Wurtemberg*,

tenberg and *Mecklenbourg*, and certain other *Swedish* Lords attended there to observe the ceremony: opposite to which was a balcony, where sat *Madam Royal* the King's mother, and certain other ladies of the highest quality.

The procession from their Majesties apartments to church began with the gentlemen in the train of the *Swedish* Ambassadors, followed by the *Polish* Deputies, and a great number of the Nobles. Then *Mr. Garofski*, the Sword-bearer of *Pofmania*, with the sword; the Constable of *Radziec*, with the globe; the Constables of *Jung*, *Wladislaw* and *Leurre*, with the sceptres; the Grand-General of *Lithuania*, Constable of *Wilna*, and *Mr. Zopolski*, Constable of *Siradia*, with the crowns. All being borne on cushions of cloth of silver. As to the standard or banner of the kingdom, which used to be carried abreast with the sword, it was not used on this occasion.

These ensigns of royalty were followed by the Treasurer *Sapieba*, who officiated as Grand-Marshal, carrying the battoon, pointing downwards, till after the ceremony, when it was to be carried upright, according to the custom of *Poland*.

The Ambassadors *Wachslager* and *Palmberg* preceded his Majesty.

Then the King, armed and robed as before described, being supported by *Mr. Potocki*, Grand-Commissary of *Lithuania*, and the Starost *Sapieba*. After whom followed the Queen, led by *Baron Horn*, the principal in the *Swedish* embassy; the whole train being closed by the ladies and principal officers of the court.

1705.

When the first persons in the procession entered the church, the music began from two galleries, and encreased in such proportion as it advanced, that the whole band were in their fullest concert, at the moment his Majesty appeared. All being ranged, those, who carried the Regalia, as they approached the altar, delivered them into the hands of the Ecclesiastics, who placed the King's crown somewhat higher than all the rest. Two Bishops, and two other Prelates received his Majesty, and complimented him at the foot of the throne. Then the two first led him to the altar, and the Queen passed into the vestry.

The Archbishop being robed pontifically, and seated before the altar, the Bishop of Caminieck addressed the following words to him in *Latin*: *Our mother, holy church, desires that this valiant Knight, elected King, should be crowned.* Upon which the Archbishop demanded, *Is he worthy? Does he design to fulfil his duty?* And the Bishop answered, *Yes, he is worthy, and will fulfil it.*

The Archbishop then proceeded to a prayer; after which he addressed a short discourse to the King, on the duties of his function, and asked him if he was disposed to observe them? And the King, who was seated between the two Bishops, (in the elbow-chairs before mentioned) having answered, *Yes*; he swore again upon his knees to keep several other articles of the *Pacta-Conventa*.

When this was done, the Archbishop and his assistants took off the King's helmet; after which his Majesty kissed the Archbishop's ring, made profession of his faith, and pronounced the

the oath in the usual words, with both his hands laid on the Gospel. The Archbishop then having his head bare, fell on his knees, together with the other Ecclesiastics, and the King prostrated himself with his arms stretched out. In which interval they sung the litany, and repeated several prayers: at the conclusion whereof, the Archbishop replaced himself in his episcopal chair, and the King kneeled as before. 1705.

They then took off his Majesty's mantle and gantlets. And the Archbishop, with the thumb of his right hand, anointed the palm of the King's right hand, his elbow, and the vertebræ, or that part of the neck between the shoulders; at the same time pronouncing these words, *I anoint thee King in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.* He afterwards wiped his thumb with bread, and washed himself; while a Bishop wiped the King likewise with bread and cotton.

His Majesty was then conducted into the vestry, where he changed his military habit for an episcopal robe, all white, which he was to keep as long as he lived; it being to serve for his winding sheet: because King *John* had been interr'd in his coronation-robcs.

The King, after this, was again led back to the altar, where the Archbishop presented him with a drawn sword, which his Majesty gave to the sword-bearer, who returned it into the scabbard, and hung it at his Majesty's side; who then drew it again, and, after making several military flourishes with it, to signify how it ought to be used, returned it once more to its scabbard.

1705. The crown was then placed on his Majesty's head by the Archbishop and Bishops, the sceptre in his right hand, and the globe in his left. All these ceremonies being accompanied with prayers and exhortations, proper to each occasion. The King then raised himself up, returned the sword to the sword-bearer, and, having all the ensigns of royalty, mounted the throne, being conducted to it by two Bishops, and the principal of the laity; where, having sat a little while, he was re-conducted as before to the altar, where he demanded of the Archbishop to crown the Queen; who signifying his consent, two Bishops conducted her Majesty from the vestry to the altar; and pretty near the same ceremonies were repeated, as before used in the coronation of the King.

The Queen prostrated herself while the benediction was given: they anointed her hand and her neck between the shoulders, and having dry'd both again, led her back to the vestry, where they robed her Majesty with a mantle of cloth of silver, garded with ermine. She was then re-conducted by the Bishops to the altar, who placed the crown on her head, and the sceptre in her hand; and, after certain prayers and exhortations, as before, attended her to her throne; seven Ladies of the first quality holding up her train, and all the rest ranging themselves round about her Majesty.

When the Bishops were returned to the altar, *Te Deum* was sung, under a triple discharge of the cannon of the castle, and the small arms of the garrison. One of the Bishops then carried the Gospel to be kiss'd by their Majesties, while sitting on their thrones: after this, the two Bishops

shops again conducted them to the altar, first the King, and then the Queen, to make their offerings : when they again kissed the Archbishop's ring, and certain holy relicts, and, upon their return to their thrones, assisted at the grand mass, which over, first the Archbishop, and then their Majesties communicated in both kinds. The Archbishop then pronounced the benediction both to their Majesties and the people, and the Grand-Marshal ordered, *long live the King and Queen*, to be proclaimed aloud, which was repeated by the whole church.

All these ceremonies ended, they returned to the castle in the same order as before. In the great hall of which, the Bishop of *Caminieck* made an eloquent speech in the name of the Senators and the Nobles ; and the Grand-Treasurer answered in behalf of their Majesties. After which the Grandees and Nobles were admitted to kiss their hands.

Their Majesties now retired to disrobe, and sit down to dinner. Three tables being prepared for that purpose : the middle one square, and raised some steps above the two others. At this their Majesties sate, being served by the great officers of the realm, and the Ambassadors of *Sweden*. At the table on the right, sate the Prelates, Senators, Deputies and Generals ; and on the left, the Ladies, together with several Lords and Officers, both *Swedes* and *Poles*.

During the repast, the company were entertained with music, which lasted till the evening, when the King and Queen rose from table, and were re-conducted to their palace by all the people of quality present.

1705. The castle had not been repaired since the siege the year before, and consequently could not be supposed very fit to entertain their Majesties.

Prince *Alexander Sobieski* retired from court during this solemnity, to his estate at *Villa Nova* near *Warsaw*, not so much for fear of provoking King *Augustus* against his brothers, who were still prisoners in *Saxony*, as to avoid disputes with the *Swedish* Ambassadors, who had given him to understand, that they could not yield him the precedency, either in the procession, or at the King's table.

For the same reason, Madam Royal, the King's mother, absented herself likewise: there being a precedent at the coronation of King *Michael*, of his mother's being set at table below the Ambassadors of *Sweden* *.

When this ceremony was over, the King of *Sweden* returned to *Blonia* perfectly satisfied with having accomplished a work, which numbers thought so difficult. But the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who had borne him company, returned immediately to *Warsaw*, to felicitate King *Stanislaus*, who, the same night, set out with the

* The following verses were made on this coronation.

L A U R U S G O T H I C A,

Vaticano Fulmini opposita, cum Illustrissimus Et Reverendissimus Archiepiscopus Leopoliensis Dominus Zielinskius Serenissimum Regem Poloniae, STANISLAUM I. coronaret;

Quid metuis Latii, Zielinski, fulmina Caeli

Imponas Regi cum Diadema novo?

Nam si caelesti Laurus non tangitur igne

Aspice, jam tanto parva medela malo est.

Frondes, Laurigero quos portat Carolus ense,

Adde Comis: Bruto fulmine tutus eris.

Prince

Prince for *Blonia*, where the two Kings embraced with all the marks of friendship and affection. 1705.

The King of *Poland* then returned, together with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who resided some days at *Warsaw*, to share in the feasts and diversions, which were given upon this occasion in great numbers.

In the morning, their Majesties were congratulated anew by abundance of Lords and Ladies: after which they repaired to the house of Ambassador *Horn*, where there was a masquerade and a ball, which lasted far in the night. These diversions continued the whole week. In which interval, numbers of the *Grandeess*, and and a croud of the Nobility, who were not present at the coronation, poured in on all sides, to pay their compliments to their Majesties: in-somuch that the whole city swarmed with deputies, as well from *Prussia* and *Lithuania*, as from *Great* and *Little Poland*, to swear fealty to the new King.

His Majesty, immediately after his coronation, gave orders to the Palatine of *Kiowia* to march towards *Prussia* with a part of the crown-army, to dislodge a great number of *Quartians* who were posted there, and committed the most horrible excesses. And, the better to meet with them, Mr. *Potoki*, Commissary-General of *Poland*, and cousin to the Palatine, together with the Starost *Bobrunski*, Count *de Sapieba*, were detached at the same time, at the head of above three thousand *Poles*, who passed the *Vistula* at *Warsaw*, and marched through *Blonia*, strait on to *Prussia*; while the Palatine, who had taken another rout, the better to circumvent the ene-

1705. my, was to join them at a place before agreed upon.

But the *Quartians*, having been advertised of this march, had already thought proper to retire : so that the *Palatine*, not being able to make a regular attack, was obliged to content himself with pursuing them ; which he did so briskly, that the enemy lost above five hundred men in their flight, who, being left behind, were made prisoners. After which they were so effectually dispersed, that one party escaped through the frontiers of *Silesia*, and the rest on the side of *Sandomir*, a great way above the *Vistula*.

While this was transacting, the *Palatine* of *Kiowia* quitted the neighbourhood of *Prague*, and all the rest of the *Polish* army passed the *Vistula* to join the *Swedes*, except half the regiment of King *Stanislaus's* foot-guards, the whole number amounting but to a hundred and fifty men, which remained at *Prague*, with a handful of *Swedes* to guard the bridge : The other half of that regiment having already marched with *Kiowski*.

When the *Russians*, and the troops of *Wisniowski*, which were at *Pultowsk* and in the adjacent places, had been informed of the departure of the *Polish* army, they would not let slip the occasion which offered, to carry off the few men left behind, and to ruin the bridge. They quitted, therefore, the *Bug*, during the night, and began their march, to the number of some thousands ; taking their measures so well, that they surprized the Lieutenant-Colonel, who commanded that detachment of the guards ; and who, in spite of a very brave defence, was not only dangerously wounded, but fell with his whole party, together with five ensigns, and

two field-pieces, into the enemy's hand : who, immediately taking advantage of their success, attacked the piquet-guard of the *Swedes* near the bridge, and obliged them to retire. 1705.

At this moment Colonel *Dabldorf*, who was in *Nierotb's* camp, as hath been already observed, hearing the report of the guns, and the noise of the combatants, mounted immediately on horseback, and, assembling in haste a little party of officers and soldiers near the bridge, attacked the enemy so bravely, that he repulsed them into *Prague*, and preserved the bridge till the arrival of a reinforcement of infantry. He was nevertheless so wounded, as well as several other officers, by the *Russians*, who were retired into the nearest houses, and fired continually upon the *Swedes*, that he was, at last, obliged to submit to be carried off. But Lieutenant-Colonel *Siegroth*, who just then arrived with part of the regiment of *Dabl-Carlia*, attacked the *Russians* with such vigour, that he soon dislodged them from their close quarters, and obliged them at length to quit the suburbs.

The enemy, however, rallied again immediately, as if with a design to give us battle in the open field. But this bravade lasted only till the arrival of some of our squadrons ; when they thought proper to move off precipitately, and were eagerly pursued as far as the *Bug*, which they passed with such celerity, that we could overtake but a few who were ill mounted, and were all either killed or taken prisoners.

We lost in this encounter eighty men, and had forty wounded ; among which were Colonel *Dabldorff*, and Major *Wrangel*. The first so dangerously on the head, that he was obliged

1705. to be trepann'd twice, and was almost given over, though afterwards perfectly cured.

The King, having been falsely informed that the whole *Russian* army was on the point of passing the *Vistula*, immediately put his own in motion, and marched on with them to *Wlosky*, within half a league of *Warsaw*; where, putting himself at the head of the van, he pushed on yet farther for better intelligence.

His Majesty arrived at *Prague*, together with the King of *Poland*, who joined him on the bridge, and the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, exactly when all was over. Upon which he dispatched orders for the army to halt at *Wloska*, where they remained till the 18th of *August*, when they returned to *Blonia*. After the return of King *Stanislaus* to the city, his Majesty, who feared a second surprize, rested that night at *Prague*, and did not return to *Blonia*, till the squadrons who had pursued the enemy brought back the news, that they had repassed the *Bug*.

During all these military expeditions, his Majesty never forgot affairs of state, and, pleased with the indefatigable application of his ministers, conferred on Count *Piper*, Senator and Premier, the post of Grand-Marshal, appointed *Hermelin* to be Chancery-Councillor, *Cederbielm* Secretary of State, and *Hulten* Register.

As there was great reason to fear another attack, his Majesty proposed to King *Stanislaus* to lodge the Queen his spouse in a place of safety, offering for that purpose the city of *Stetin* in *Pomerania*, till the end of the war.

The Queen of *Poland* set out some days after, with the two Princesses her daughters, and Madam-Royal mother of the King. The Prince of *Wurtemberg*, the Ambassador *Horn*, and many

many general officers waited on her Majesty, as far as the estate of the Princess of *Radziwil*, who magnificently entertained all that illustrious company; after which the Queen pursued her voyage and arrived happily at *Stetin*. 1705.

It was about this time that the Cardinal-Primate, *Michael Radziewski* died at *Dantzick*. It is remarkable, he was taken ill the very morning that King *Stanislaus* was crowned: languished in bed till *October 3.* and then expired, to the great regret of all those who were acquainted with his worth.

The Bishoprick of *Guesna* and the dignity of Primate being vacant by his death, those two preferments were conferred by the two competitors, on two different persons. King *Stanislaus* giving them immediately to the Archbishop of *Leopol*, who had crowned him; and King *Augustus*, who was then passing through *Dantzick* and *Konigsberg* to join the Czar, to the Bishop of *Cujavia*, who had elected and crowned him King of *Poland*.

Augustus, whose affairs did not seem so desperate after the arrival of the Czar in *Lithuania*, pressed by General *Patkul*, who then acted as his Ambassador to that Prince, and the fatal news he received from *Warsaw*, to repair forthwith to *Poland*, departed *incognito* from his army, and encamped near *Guben* upon the *Oder*, accompanied only by Colonel *Goltz*, and two other persons. He arrived at *Dantzick* *Octob. 18.* from whence he passed on to *Konigsberg*, where he arrived at nine o'clock at night, at the house of Councillor *Negelein*, who conducted him with forty horse to *Tiskotzin*, an advantageous post which the *Russians* possessed in *Podlaccia*, upon

1705. upon the *Nerew*, twelve leagues from *Bug*, and thirty-five from *Warsaw*.

From hence he immediately gave notice of his arrival, not only to the Czar, but to his whole party, by a manifesto which he caused to be distributed all over the kingdom. After which he passed on to *Grodno*, and thence to the *Russian* army, *Octob.* 30. where, at their first meeting, the Czar presented him with the five standards taken at *Prague*, from the hundred and fifty men of King *Stanislaus's* guards, as related above.

It was at *Grodno* that King *Augustus* instituted the order of the white eagle, worn upon a blue ribband, and having for a motto, *Pro Fide, Rege & Lege*; which he conferred on many of the *Polish* grandees, to attach them more firmly, and likewise on some of the *Russian* Generals.

Here likewise a *Senatus-Consilium* was held, a great number of Senators and Prelates being present, among whom it was agreed to continue faithful to King *Augustus*; to join the crown-army to that of the Czar, with whom they concluded a strict and solemn alliance against the King of *Sweden* and *Stanislaus*; and to pay the arrears due to the *Lithuanian* army.

While these great affairs were transacting between King *Augustus* and the Czar, the last received an express from *Moscow*, with the disagreeable news of a rebellion in the province of *Astracan*, where a great number of malecontents were up in arms, and wasted all before them with fire and sword. The Czar then saw himself obliged to set out forthwith for his own dominions, taking with him a large detachment from

from his army, and leaving the rest under the command of King *Augustus*, Prince *Menzikof*, and Field-Marshal *Ogilvy*. 1705.

He was scarce gone before King *Augustus*, giving ear to certain of his Counsellors and the Grandees of *Lituania*, who were greatly displeased to see their lands ruined by the *Russians*, began to conceive certain suspicions, which diminished the confidence, and shocked the union which had, till then, subsisted between those two Princes. Though the treaty was concluded between the Czar and the Republic, King *Augustus*, imagining that *Patkul* privately endeavoured to reconcile the Czar with the King of *Sweden*, and that, in consequence, the first would continue in possession of *Lituania*, suddenly ordered that Minister to be arrested in *Saxony*: so rash a measure raised a great clamour, and it was apprehended a rupture would follow: but the necessity of each party to be well with the other, soon brought about a reconciliation.

Four days after the coronation of King *Stanislaus*, the treaty of *Sweden* was recommenced at *Warsaw*; which was at last brought to a period, and contained thirty articles, many of which had long, separate explanations. Having been signed *Nov. 18*, and ratified the 24th and 25th by the two Kings, it was publickly proclaimed the 27th, with the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums. After which *Te Deum* was sung both in the city and the camp, and King *Stanislaus*, to testify his satisfaction, gave a superb feast upon the occasion.

Some days after, the Ambassadors of *Sweden* took their leave, and the Diet broke up with great

1705. great content on all hands. The substance of the treaty was as follows :

1. There shall be a perpetual peace, and sincere amity between the two Kings, their successors, and their realms.

2. The peace of *Oliva* shall be confirmed in all points, except where expressly annulled, or more amply explained, or hereafter shall be for the common good.

3. There shall be a general amnesty ; and three months allowed for those of the contrary party to come in.

4. No truce, peace, or accord of any kind shall be allowed with King *Augustus*, but by common consent, and with the proviso that he renounce the crown, and give satisfaction to the King of *Sweden* and the Republick, for all the damages occasioned by the war. The declaration published by him shall be deemed of no validity, and likewise all the decrees, statutes, and other public acts, made in his name during the war.

5. All alliances prejudicial to the *Swedes* shall be annulled ; and the Republic of *Poland* shall not permit their Kings to contract the like for the future.

6. The Czar of *Muscovy* shall be pursued conjunctively, till he has made satisfaction for all the wrongs and mischiefs he has caused. No peace or truce shall be made with that Prince, but with the common consent. The manner in which the armies shall join, and upon what conditions, shall be adjusted by a particular convention.

7. *Sweden*

7. *Sweden* shall not lay down her arms till 1705.
peace is re-established in *Poland*, and King
Stanislaus remains in quiet possession of the
throne.

8. Such places as the *Suedes* retake from the
Czar, shall be restored to *Poland*, reimbursing
the cost.

9. But the *Suedes* may hold garrisons during
the war, in the places they either now, or may
hereafter possess.

10. The King of *Sweden* may conduct his
army through *Prussia*, and the other provinces
of the Republic, and levy what recruits may
be necessary.

11. He shall be allowed transport-vessels for
his troops, and the sea-ports shall be open to
his use.

12. If either of the parties enter into war
with his neighbours, the other shall give no as-
sistance to the enemy.

13. The King and Republic of *Poland* shall
restrain such of their subjects as shall dare here-
after to take up arms against the *Suedes*.

14, 15 and 16. Regard only the prisoners,
and fugitives of both sides.

17. The house of *Sapieha* shall be restored to
their antient dignities, honours, employments,
estates, &c.

18. The King and Republic of *Poland* ratify
and declare, that they will maintain the peace
and safety, which the Protestants have enjoyed
both in *Poland* and *Lithuania*, and which have
been confirmed by the confederacies, *Pasta-*
Conventa, &c. so that no damage shall occur
to them on account of their religion, while they
behave themselves peaceably: neither shall they
be hindered from assembling in the usual places,
hitherto

1705. hitherto allowed them for that purpose ; or from educating their children in the religion of their fathers. Moreover, the towns of *Prussia* shall be confirmed in all the rights and privileges spiritual or temporal, that they enjoyed before and after the treaty of *Oliva*.

The articles 19, 20, &c. to 26. contained divers regulations concerning reciprocal commerce and navigation, particularly that of *Riga*.

26. All false money shall be prohibited, such as the sols of *Walachia*, &c. When the Republic begins a new coinage, it shall answer to the standard of that of *Sweden*.

27. The Republic shall oblige its Princes to observe this treaty, and, in case of a rupture, it shall be responsible for all damages that may ensue.

28. If any other Realms, Republics, and States, would be comprized in this alliance, they shall be received by common consent.

29. The guarantees of such Princes and powers shall be demanded, who are equally in the interest of *Sweden* and *Poland*.

30. This treaty shall be ratified and exchanged on both sides, within a week after the day of signing it.

Twenty-three Commissioners, all persons of the first distinction, selected out of the Clergy, Senate, and Nobility, signed this treaty in behalf of the Republic. After which it was ratified by King *Stanislaus*, and counter-signed by his private Secretary the Sr. *Radouski*, Starost of *Inowlod*. On the part of *Sweden*, it was signed by the three Ambassadors, *Horn*, *Wachslager*, and *Palmberg*, and, lower down, by the Secretaries of the embassy *Reuterholm* and *Adlerberg*.

Last

Last of all his Majesty ratify'd it at *Blonia*, and 1705.
it was counter-signed by Count *Piper*.

When the peace was published, the enemy, who had much wondered the King of *Sweden*, should continue quiet so long in his camp at *Blonia*, did not question but that tranquillity would soon be interrupted, now he had so gloriously surmounted all the difficulties that had occurred in the execution of so great a design.

Notwithstanding the rigour of the season the *Swedish* army still continued encamped, and as the enemy was not ignorant that his Majesty had given them orders to be ready for a march, the news gave them no small uneasiness: but what confirmed their suspicions of being soon attacked in *Lithuania*, was the advice which they received, that General *Rheinschild* had been commanded to continue in *Poland*, and to enter into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of *Possunia*; while Lieutenant-General *Stromberg*, who had remained till then at *Cracow* with four regiments of foot, and certain cavalry, was ordered to join his Majesty.

The enemy had, however, made all the necessary preparations to resist the *Swedish* army. The *Russians* having, in a more especial manner, taken care to fortify all the posts from *Grodno* to *Breszizi* upon the *Bug*, to secure themselves in *Lithuania*, *Podlachia* and *Polesia*, where they were masters, and where it was very difficult for the *Swedes* to enter.

As King *Augustus* had given the Czar to understand, before his departure, of the danger that would occur from a decisive battle, as not confiding much in the constancy of the *Poles*, or the valour of the *Russians*, and the gross of his *Saxons* not being able to enter into *Poland*,

1705. because the passes were so closely guarded by our troops, both those Princes agreed to keep on the defensive only, and trust to their strong intrenchments, in case they were attacked in *Lithuania*: it being their design to weaken us insensibly, by sending out large detachments to harass and disturb us incessantly.

General *Renne*, who was posted at *Pultoroff* with certain regiments of *Russians*, sent out parties continually to pry into our motions, and learn the day when we began our march: And, after being informed that our army were still quiet in their tents, he detached a strong party towards the *Vistula*, on the side of *Plocsko*, on advice that a *Swedish* Captain had passed that river with sixty men to levy contributions. *December 3.* these two detachments met, and, after a valiant defence, which lasted from morning till night, the *Swedes* were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

The army continued at *Blonia* till the end of *December*, without any persons being able to guess the day of decamping, or even what rout they should take. It was composed of eight regiments.

- | | | |
|--|---|-----------|
| 1. The regiment of life-guards. | } | Horse. |
| 2. Of <i>Scania</i> . | | |
| 3. Of foot-guards, four battalions. | } | Infantry. |
| 4. Of <i>Horn, Germans</i> , two battalions. | | |
| 5. The regiment of <i>Stenbock</i> . | } | Dragoons. |
| 6. Of <i>Meyerfeld</i> . | | |
| 7. Of <i>Ducker</i> . | | |
| 8. And of <i>Taube</i> . | | |

The

The division of Lieutenant-General *Nieroth*, 1705. which was encamped near *Warsaw* upon the *Vistula*, was composed of five regiments.

- | | | |
|--|---|-----------|
| 1. That of <i>Smoland</i> . | } | Horse. |
| 2. Of <i>Ostrogothia</i> . | | |
| 3. And of <i>Kruus</i> . | | |
| 4. Of <i>Upland</i> , two battalions. | } | Infantry. |
| 5. Of <i>Dahl-Carlia</i> , two battalions. | | |

December 12. Lieutenant-General *Stromberg* arrived from *Cracow* with his detachment, which consisted of four regiments of foot, and certain horse, viz.

- | | | |
|---|---|-------|
| 1. That of <i>Ostrogothia</i> , two battalions. | } | Foot. |
| 2. Of <i>Fonkioping</i> , 2 battalions. | | |
| 3. Of <i>Calmar</i> , 2 battalions. | | |
| 4. Of <i>Westrogothia</i> , 2 battalions. | | |

It would have been almost incredible, that men could bear a cold so excessive as then prevailed, covered only with tents, exposed to every storm, if our army had not, this winter, given a proof of it in the neighbourhood of *Warsaw*, that astonished all *Europe*. Even his Majesty exposed himself to all the rigours of that severe season, in a slight tent, aired only at night with red-hot bullets, which emitted a most disagreeable smell, as he had done before in *Courland* in the year 1701. In the day time his Majesty warmed himself from time to time, at the fire belonging to the guard: and, as if to encrease the hardship, his kitchen was so far removed

1705. removed from his own tent, that his victuals was ic'd over before it reached his table.

Nevertheless, his Majesty, far from being shocked with a life so deplorably wretched, persisted still in enduring it, till all the rivers and lakes round about were encrusted with ice, to be the better able to fall upon the enemy.

His Majesty, however, permitted the Prince of *Wurtemberg* and other persons of distinction, to build themselves cabbins, for their better accommodation; and some threw up great trenches in the earth, which they covered with planks, turf or tiles, to shelter themselves from wind and weather: insomuch that we did not ill resemble a colony escaped from *Iceland*.

In the mean while, the *Vistula* was so filled with ice, that the bridge at *Warsaw* was broke; but, soon after again repaired, and the King gave orders to decamp: marching the first day, *Decemb. 29.* together with his court, and the *Drabans*, four leagues, as far as *Warsaw*, where he encamped near the *Vistula*, in the camp of General *Nieroth*, a part of whose detachment had already passed the bridge.

The next morning the King, accompanied by King *Stanislaus*, the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, the two courts, and the *Drabans* passed the *Vistula*; all the regiments then prepared to do the same, marching towards the bridge from the camp on all sides, and, at the same time, with so much order and regularity, that no one party interrupted another.

No body yet was certain what rout his Majesty would take; some believed that the army would march forthwith towards *Lublin*, to drive thence *Mazeppa*, General, or *Hittmann* of the *Cosaques*, who had taken up his quarters in that
neigh-

neighbourhood with all his forces : and others 1705.
presumed, with greater likelihood, that we
should proceed strait on to *Lituania* to dislodge
the *Russians*.

Count *Schlippenbach*, General to the King of
Prussia, who had followed the army from *Ra-*
vitz, and who designed to share in the cam-
paign, provided the King had taken the road
to *Lituania*, and the frontiers of *Prussia*, not
knowing his Majesty's real design, resolved to
quit the army and return home ; especially, when
he saw that the same day the march was conti-
nued through the city of *Okumiof* to *Michaelow*,
(four leagues) and the next, *Decemb. 31.* to
Stanislaw (two leagues) ; the King having it
still in his power to wheel to either side as he
pleased, without any bodies being able to disco-
ver which he would chuse.

Jan. 1. 1706. O. S. The army took one 1706.
day's repose at *Stanislaw*, where the cold was so
extremely piercing, that liquids of all kinds,
and our provisions likewise became frozen : this
lasted the whole months of *January* and *Febru-*
ary, and greatly contributed to facilitate our
march over so many rivers and marshes as lay
in our way, and which were all frost-bound.

The next morning we advanced five leagues
and a half towards the city of *Wengarow* ; and,
in our way, the ice not being yet strong enough
to bear our heavy-baggage, a great part both
of that and our artillery broke in. Upon which
the King immediately hastened to the spot, to
take order to remedy the mischief, a carriage,
among the rest, belonging to the Prince of *Wur-*
temberg, being so far sunk down, that fifty men
could hardly drag it out : while this was doing,
the ice gave way at the very place where the

1706. King and Prince stood, and both tumbled in, but were happily taken up again the same moment. This march cost a great number of servants and horses their lives; and, at last, obliged the King to halt a whole day at *Wengarow*, till the baggage came up. We then began to perceive that his Majesty's design was to march into *Lithuania*, and we were confirmed in this conjecture, when the army proceeded the 4th to *Korowice*, (three leagues and a half) a village in the road to *Grodno*.

The 5th, we proceeded to *Krzimenka*, (two leagues) a village upon the *Bug*, where we encamped. As that river was not yet so firm frozen over, as to bear the weight of the army, the King, not to lose time, and yet render the passage safe, ordered a thin bed of straw to be laid over it, which being moistened with water; and other straw spread again upon that, the severe cold froze all fast together, till by frequent repetitions of the same thing, a sort of bridge was formed upon the ice, over which the cavalry, baggage, and artillery, defil'd, and was followed by the infantry without the least danger, till towards the close of the march: when the two extremities of the bridge seemed to give way, and some pieces of ice absolutely broke loose, and carried away certain men and horses, though even those had the good fortune to escape.

The greatest obstacle was occasioned by a rock of ice on the opposite shore, exceeding slippery, which we were obliged to surmount: though not without extreme difficulty to the cavalry, baggage and artillery; many horses being killed by the prodigious efforts they were constrained to make in climbing the ascent.

The

The 7th, after having passed the *Bug*, we continued our march to *Poplawice*, (four leagues and a half) where we rested one day. This village, which is in *Podlachia*, a *Palatinate* of the great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, was inhabited only by poor gentlemen, who were destitute of all things. The *Russians* and *Saxons* having stripped the whole country before them; inso-much that the army having neither victuals or forage, both horses and men suffered extremely.

Having halted a day in this miserable place, the King gave orders to decamp next day, Jan. 9. when the army marched through the city of *Suras* to *Borofsky* (four leagues.) Our *Valoches* near this place carried off a *Russian* Lieutenant, and eighteen men, after having killed fifteen. Here, likewise, every thing had been consumed by the enemy; and, the cold encreasing considerably, our troops had not been able to subsist any longer, or bear up against the rigour of the season, if the next day they had not reached *Slabudowa*, (two leagues) a small city, where the Reformed have a church, and where we found some victuals, and especially forage for the horses.

The army rested here one day, and, notwithstanding the excessive cold, encamped almost in the open air; his Majesty not permitting the troops to be canton'd in the neighbouring villages, in order to conceal their numbers from the enemy.

As the *Russians* were not informed in time of the march of our army, many of their detachments were surprized in their quarters, where they feared nothing less than our approach: but when they were informed by those who had escaped our *Valoches*, and who spread the alarm

1706. on all sides, they provided for the preservation of *Tykozin* and *Grodno*, where King *Augustus* was in person, by instantly detaching fresh troops to reinforce the garrisons there : fully resolved to abide on the defensive, and not to hazard a battle in open field.

At last they were perfectly convinced that the King of *Sweden* was much nearer than they believed, when (his Majesty having marched, *January* 12. from *Slabodowa* to *Krimki*, seven dreadful leagues in twelve hours time, without pause or rest, from eight o'clock in the morning till night) our *Valoches*, who were foremost, surprized certain of King *Augustus's* *Drabans* in that little city; the greatest part of whom made a shift to escape, and carry that Prince the news, that we should pay him a visit out of hand.

Augustus, surprized with a march so extraordinary, undertook in the very depth of winter, assembled immediately all his regiments, which were dispersed in the adjacencies of *Grodno*; and admitted them into the city, which was tolerably well fortified by the *Russians*, who had worked upon it incessantly to put it in a condition to support a long siege in case of an attack. At *Krimki*, the King resigned all the houses to the sick, and encamped with the rest of the army for a day and two nights which they remained there.

The 14th, the march was renewed to a village called *Michalovice*, (five leagues and a half) which is but a small league from *Grodno*. As there were no more marshes to pass, and the country was wide enough for the army to extend itself in front, his Majesty ordered it to proceed, with the baggage and artillery, in different columns: one of which surprized an advanced

vanced guard of the enemy's commanded by a Lieutenant, who was taken prisoner, with all his people. The baggage arriving very late, the army remained under arms upon the snow a great part of the night: soon after which, one of the enemy's parties, who were conveying a number of carriages to the city, fell in with our advanced guard, which in the dark they mistook to be Saxons and friends; but, being soon undeceived, they made their escapes in the best manner they could, under covert of the night, notwithstanding which, abundance of their men, and all their carriages fell into our hands.

The next morning, Jan. 15. when it was broad-day, the army removed to be nearer the city; his Majesty being resolved to pass the Niema, half a league above Grodno. As that river, which was froze over, had, on our side, a very steep and rocky shore, our cavalry apprehended great difficulty in getting over, more especially as it was to be done in sight of the enemy, who were ranged over against us, in order to dispute the passage. The artillery and the baggage took another rout, in order to proceed with less difficulty.

At the first movement of our army, the enemy had marched all their cavalry and dragoons out of Grodno, as well as the greatest part of their infantry. Which last halted at some distance from the city, while the first ranged themselves by the river's side, as mentioned above.

The King, who arrived at this instant, and observed that the enemy, by ordering their horse and dragoons to alight, and take possession of all the eminencies, defiles, and passes, that might facilitate our landing, prepared to give us as much trouble as possible, forthwith ordered

1706. ordered the whole army to halt, and, placing himself at the head of six hundred grenadiers of the regiment of guards, descended from the height down to the ice, where he drew up his little corps, and led them on to the enemy, with bayonets fixed ; who, animated with the presence of their King commanding them in person, charged the *Russians* with such fury, that, notwithstanding the superiority of numbers, and advantage of ground, they were obliged to give way after a few volleys, and a very slight resistance.

The *Russians* then remounted, and, retreating to some distance, drew up in order of battle, while our battalion of guards made themselves masters, with inconsiderable loss, of the posts they had abandoned ; the King, at the same instant, commanding the dragoons to follow, which they did, though slowly ; it being with great difficulty that the horses kept their footing either down or up such broken ways, covered over with ice and snow.

The King, however, not waiting for the whole body, joined the first squadrons that came over, and galloped, sword in hand, against the enemy : who, having no desire to engage, retired still in good order towards their infantry, who were posted in a valley near the city so advantageously, that the King, with the handful of troops which had followed him, did not think it advisable to renew the combat. Only certain Volunteers, who were ambitious of exchanging a few pistol-shot, and harassing the enemy, that their retreat might not be wholly undisturbed, ventured still on ; and a little skirmish, that followed, had like to have cost a Captain named *Saxo* dear, an *Italian* by birth, and

and lately in the *Russian* service ; which he had 1706.
quitted, and came over to us in search of preferment, which he afterwards obtained. This officer, extremely exasperated against a nation, which he thought he had great reason to complain of, exposed himself so much, that his horse was killed under him, and himself taken prisoner, after having most bravely defended himself against so great a number, and received two wounds, one in the head and another in the thigh : he had now been irrecoverably lost, if the brave Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who loved him, had not hastened to his assistance, accompanied with Count *Sapieha*, *Pizars* of *Lithuania*, and a squadron of dragoons, who, having made way through the enemy sword in hand, effected his deliverance.

During these little skirmishes, which were smart enough, our Volunteers neither giving or accepting quarter, the *Russian* cavalry and dragoons joined their infantry, and ranged themselves together in order of battle. His Majesty, likewise, who continually was reinforced with fresh troops, which had now passed the *Niema*, did the same, and marched on to attack the enemy. But the *Russians*, daunted at the aspect and fierce movement of our line, retired hastily behind their double entrenchments, to expect us there, according to the orders they had received from the Czar in case of an attack : but the King, having no other view than to pass the river, did not think it proper to disturb them, and even gave them time to join the rest of their army ; as already foreseeing, that wants and diseases would soon destroy them, if they persisted in continuing there, without his being obliged to risque a single man to dislodge them.

The

1706. The rest of the day was employed in defiling the army, which, almost to the very rear, whose charge it was to guard the baggage and artillery, passed the *Niema* before night. As the country did not afford villages and houses enough to lodge all the troops, who had neither tents or baggage, they were obliged both horse and foot to continue in open field, in order of battle, and without the least shelter, near the village of *Dziewiſtowize*, half a league from the city, and to kindle fires to warm themselves as they could: being overcome with fatigue, and pierced thro' with cold, they threw themselves in their ranks upon the ground, and rested upon each others feet, only covered with their cloaks *, which were then of great use.

The two Kings and the Prince of *Wurtemberg* reposed themselves before a great fire, which was made within an enclosure of straw, by way of shelter both from the wind and smoak. But his *Swedish* Majesty did not remain here long, but spent the greatest part of the night in visiting the regiments, and making excursions towards the city to reconnoitre the enemy, and watch if they attempted a sally.

Certain waggons of provisions were taken that night, but nothing like a supply for a whole army, which was fainting with hunger, and yet more with thirst; water being so scarce, that the soldiers gladly parted with their money even for a single glass.

In the morning, *Jan.* 16. the King approached with his army, within half a quarter of a league of the entrenchments of the city, in the same order they had kept the night be-

* Every *Swedish* soldier is furnished with a cloak.

fore: and his Majesty being advanced too near, 1706. accompanied by Count *Stenbock*, Lieutenant-General of the quarter-masters, and certain engineers, for the better examining the avenues, the enemy fired a great number of cannon upon him and his train, but without doing any mischief.

His Majesty then judging, by what he observed, that the *Russians* were resolved not to quit the advantage of their lines, or venture into open field, ordered the army to wheel somewhat to the right, and post themselves between *Grodno* and *Wilna*, to have all the benefit they could of the neighbouring villages: but, as they had stripped most of the houses of their tiles, (perhaps boards) to serve them for fuel, to mitigate the excessive cold, they found themselves obliged to pass yet another night in open air, though with less inconvenience than they suffered the night before.

During these transactions, the greatest part of our baggage arrived; none having miscarried but certain waggons of sick soldiers, which in the dark had mistook their way, and wandered to the city, where they were all taken prisoners by the enemy.

The 17th, the army continued in the same place; his Majesty having taken up his quarters at a quarter of a league from the city. Our parties, several times that day, came to blows with the enemy, and the combats grew always so much the more obstinate and bloody, as no quarter was given on either side. Towards night, the rest of our baggage arrived safe.

The 18th, the army decamped, and marched to *Skalubow*, two leagues and a half from the city,

1706. city, where they were more at their ease, being posted in the neighbouring villages round about the city ; and were indulged with some days repose, to wear off the inexpressible fatigue they had sustained.

King *Augustus* now resolved to quit *Grodno*, where he had hitherto staid ; and, accordingly, set out for *Warsaw* with his body-guards, certain regiments of *Saxons*, and four regiments of *Russian* dragoons : leaving Field-Marshal *Ogilvi*, Prince *Wisniowski*, with the Generals *Allard*, *Venediger* and others at *Grodno*, with all the *Russian* infantry, with orders to continue behind their intrenchments, and put nothing to the hazard, till he was upon his return with the *Saxon* army, which he had already ordered to enter into *Poland*, to attack General *Rheinschild*, who was posted, as already mentioned, on the frontier of *Silesia*.

Ogilvi obeyed punctually the orders of King *Augustus*, and was never seen out of his lines all that time, but he soon perceived that sickness and want of provisions rendered fruitless all the other measures which he had taken. For the place being too confined for the number of troops enclosed in it ; and necessaries growing more and more scarce every day, it occasioned dreadful diseases, which lasted all the rest of the winter, and carried off abundance of men.

The Kings of *Sweden* and *Poland* having rested at *Skalubowa* till Jan. 22. decamped with the army that day, which was divided into two columns. His *Swedish* Majesty, with the first, marched to the right, towards *Holowacz* two leagues and a half from *Grodno*, having with him,

The

King CHARLES XII. of SWEDEN.

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The regiment of Life-guards,
The *Ostrogots*,
The *Smolanders*,
And that of *Kruus*.

} Horse.

The Guards,
The *Uplanders*,
The *Dabl-Carlans*,
The *Ostrogots*,
The regiment of *Jonkioping*,
And that of *Calmar*.

} Foot.

The regiment of *Stenbock*,
Of *Meyerfeld*,
And of *Taube*.

} Dragoons.

King *Stanislaus*, with the second column, repaired to *Striowka*, having with him,

The Artillery.

The *Westrogots*, *Horn*, Infantry.

The regiment of *Scania*, Cavalry.

And a detachment of *Duker's* Dragoons.

It was hoped these new quarters, where the regiments were distributed, would have been better supplied with provisions. But they continued there no longer than the 25th, when the King decamped, and reached *Kamiunka*, (three leagues) while King *Stanislaus* had already repaired over night to *Zembrowa*.

The *Polish* troops, commanded by the General Count *Sapieha*, the Palatine *Kiowski*, the Starost *Bobruiski*, and others, marched always on the left of the King of *Poland*, and chose their rout as they pleased, to the almost irreparable damage of the country.

But

1706. But misery followed us all ; for, as the inhabitants of these provinces took their flight at our approach, and it is the custom of *Lithuania*, *White Russia*, the frontier of *Muscovy*, and in the *Ukrain*, not to keep their corn, when it is threshed, or even their honey, or other victuals in their barns, but to bury them underground, or in caves hard to find, especially in winter, when the snow covers all, our troops, to avoid perishing with famine, were obliged to search for these places, by piercing the earth with their swords and pikes, as well round about the houses, as without the villages and towns, and even in the woods, where these people sometimes hide their provision : which was done with so much the more difficulty, in regard the rigour of the frost had rendered the ground almost impenetrable. However, necessity compelling, these subterranean magazines were often brought to light, especially when the thaw came on ; at which time the snow melted from off these vaulted caverns first : but the difficulty of finding these provisions was not equal to the danger attending the discovery, to those who descended at the instant the cells were opened ; such abundance of vapours immediately steaming out, as killed numbers of our people, till fatal experience taught them to wait with patience, till they were dispersed to avoid suffocation.

In this dreadful manner, in a country totally waste and desolate, were we obliged to toil for our daily bread : nor was this the only inconvenience ; for, after the soldier had found the corn, he was obliged to grind and dress it ; which took up a tedious quantity of time and labour : and, after all, it was never sufficient to the
wants

wants of such numbers of people. The very 1706.
table of the Kings participated of the same
misery: instead of butter, all was dress'd with
lard and oil, which caused frequent disorders,
and with which King *Stanislaus* in particular was
visited.

But, however extreme our sufferings were in
this painful march, they bore no comparison
with the extremities to which the garrison of
Grodno was reduced: *Ogilvi*, therefore, seeing
us so far removed, resolved to make use of the
opportunity to procure some refreshments for
his troops, almost starved, and every day di-
minished by sickness, which carried them off
by whole companies. In this view, he de-
tached all his dragoons to bring in all the pro-
visions they could find in the adjacencies of
Grodno; but which was done with all possible
precaution, the river *Niema* being always be-
tween us and them, which they never presumed
to pass.

Upon the first advice, which the King re-
ceived of this march, he ordered out Major-
General *Meyerfeld* and Colonel *Burenfeld* with
two thousand horse to give them chase, and carry
off their provisions; which party having passed
the *Niema*, thro' the city of *Luna*, pushed on
to that of *Indura*, where there was a regiment
of *Russian* dragoons in garrison, to guard the
magazine deposited there of the spoils of the
country, which was to be sent to *Grodno*.

As the land all round about is extremely flat,
it was impossible to avoid being discovered by
the advanced guards, who, after a slight re-
sistance, retired into the city, where they gave
so terrible an alarm, that the regiments flew
to horse in a moment, and made off full speed,
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1706. leaving only a Captain, a Lieutenant, and sixty men behind, who were all killed upon the spot, and fifty more who were taken prisoners.

The night coming on obliged *Meyerfeld* to halt here; upon which the enemy returned with all the strength they could collect, and seemed as if disposed to attack us. But *Meyerfeld* had scarce made one movement with his horse, when they all fled precipitately towards *Grodno*, leaving at *Indura* all the victuals and forage they had taken so much pains to amass.

Both our *Valoches*, and the *Lithuanian* nobles and peasants, who were greatly exasperated against the *Russians*, came in to *Meyerfeld* next morning with several prisoners, taken, in their precipitate retreat, which had left them scattered and cut off from their main body. The General then returned to the King's quarters, with all the provisions he could carry off, after having burned the rest.

About this time, the King published a manifesto, addressed to the *Lithuanians*, and dated from *Kamjunka*, Jan. 29. " In which his Majesty again lays before the Nobles of that " dutchy, the reasons which had induced him " to enter with his forces into *Poland*, to repel " the unjust war begun upon him by King *Augustus*, and to deliver the Republic from the " slavery to which that Prince endeavoured to " reduce it. That heaven having prospered his arms, *Poland* had, at last, chosen " another King in the person of the most serene *Stanislaus* the first, who had been crowned with the usual formalities. That his Majesty, having less regarded his just satisfaction in that event, than the advantage of " having obtained the assurance of a sincere " and

1706.
“ and inviolable alliance, had made no difficulty to re-establish the antient amity by a treaty of peace with the Republic, as much to its interest and glory, as serviceable to disappoint the ill designs of the *Russians* and *Saxons*, against whom he declared perpetual war, till they were driven out of *Poland*; till the public tranquillity was entirely re-established, and the government of King *Stanislaus* confirmed. That returning with this design into *Lithuania*, his Majesty could not doubt but the States and Nobles of that province, (oppressed by the enemy, which had compelled them till now to continue inactive, seeing likewise that his troops were present to deliver them) were possessed with an eagerness to shake off the yoke of these foreigners, proportioned to the insupportable tyranny they had endured. That he could not doubt but they would follow the example of *Poland*, in making use of this favourable conjuncture, to enter into the sentiments of those who laboured to deliver their country. *You see, it was said, the standard of liberty: You see it displayed in this march of King Stanislaus, who you ought so much the more to wish to see established on the throne, as he is not a foreigner, as he is moderate and valiant, as he both knows and loves the laws of the Republic, and that it will be his care to maintain that liberty to which he is indebted for a throne.*

“ His Majesty, afterwards, proceeded to assure them of his protection, of his good intentions; of which there was no legitimate reason to doubt, after the proofs of his sincerity given in *Poland*, to the guardianship and safety of which, he had consecrated his arms.

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“ He then placed before their eyes the conduct of King *Augustus*, and the projects which he had formed, from the beginning of his reign, to oppress the liberty of *Poland*, and more especially of *Lituania*. And that, after he was convinced of the impossibility of their success, and saw himself thrown from his hopes by the arms of his Majesty, he had drawn into the provinces of the Republic one of the most inveterate enemies of the *Polish* name; exhorting them to make a just comparison between the equitable declarations, confirmed in the last treaty, to protect the Republic, and not to suffer it to be dismembered of its smallest part, and the views of the *Muscovites*, and the barbarous nations with which *Lituania* was over-run, and which had never come to the succour of King *Augustus*, if he had not made considerable offers to his faithful confederate, by way of reward for his iniquitous services. That those who yet doubted, might draw more certain inferences touching the intentions of the Czar, if they would regard the letters which he had writ the preceding year in *Muscovy*, where they would find *Lituania* among the titles and possessions of that Prince.

“ His Majesty then cautioned them to be no longer blinded by the specious pretences of those whose inconsiderate zeal and ambition drew this plague upon their frontiers, at the instance of King *Augustus*. Beside, it proceeded, *will be who has already manifested more than once, how little he regards the faith of treaties, observe them more scrupulously now? By what means can assurance be given, that he, who has given proofs of an insatiable heart, who*
 “ *has*

" has governed the Poles and Lithuanians as 1706.

" slaves, and who has profaned the worship of holy
 " things, will become more moderate? When he
 " shall no more be aw'd by the terror of our arms,
 " he will drop, make no doubt of it; he will drop
 " that mask of sweetness and moderation which he
 " now wears. Then he will treat even his own
 " partizans and their friends with so much the
 " more severity, as he will be sure, that, being
 " convinced he has deceived them, they will regard
 " him but with an evil eye. Even thus far;
 " what fruit have these partizans of his reaped
 " from their obstinacy, but to be themselves in con-
 " tinual peril, to see their country ruined, their re-
 " lations, friends, wives and children dragged
 " into captivity, and obliged to bow beneath the
 " Russian yoke?

" In fine, his Majesty exhorted them to
 " think better of it, and to unite with those
 " who, conjunctively with King *Stanislaus*, had
 " undertook to restore their violated liberties;
 " promising a general amnesty to all the parti-
 " zans of King *Augustus*; as likewise security
 " and protection, and to fulfil exactly all the
 " engagements taken to benefit or aggrandize
 " the two realms; and, at the same, time mena-
 " cing all those who despised these offers, with
 " all the rigours of war. And, for the greater
 " assurance of the performance of his promises,
 " that his Majesty would order this letter to be
 " sent to all the *Palatinates* of the great dutchy
 " of *Lithuania*, signed by his Majesty, and
 " sealed with the seal-royal.

CHARLES,

L. S.

Winter-quarters at Kam-
 junka, Jan. 29. 1706.

and lower

C. PIPER.

The

1706. The forces of Prince *Wisniowski*, quartered near *Cauno*, and in *Samogitia*, had resolved to surprize the Palatine of *Kiovia*, who followed, with his *Poles* and the *Lithuanians* of *Sapieba*, the column of King *Stanislaus*, near whom he encamped: for the better execution of which, it was requested of *Ogilvi*, by whom the commanding officer of *Wisniowski's* troops had communicated his design by a letter, to detach forces on his side, by a certain day appointed for the enterprize. By good fortune this letter was intercepted, and brought to King *Stanislaus*, who dispatched immediately the Palatine of *Kiovia*, to be before-hand with the enemy; and such expedition did he make in marching, night and day, without intermission, that he surprized the enemy at *Olita* on the *Niema*, and gave them a total overthrow, taking, beside a great number of prisoners, all their baggage, three pieces of cannon, and other booty; General *Schimetski* himself escaped with great difficulty, in the disguise of a peasant, and made a shift, at last, to join General *Bauer*, who commanded eight or ten thousand *Russians* in *Courland*.

We have before observed, that King *Augustus* had taken the road to *Warsaw*, with certain *Saxon* troops, and four regiments of *Russian* dragoons, amounting in all to seven thousand men. Jan. 26. he arrived there, and sent immediate orders to General *Brause*, who commanded at *Cracow*, to hold his detachment in readiness to march at a moment's warning, to facilitate his junction with the *Saxon* army, which was on the point of entering into *Poland*, to attack General *Rheinschild*, and either beat up his quarters, or even oblige him to retire into *Polish Prussia*.

Schulenburg,

Schulenburg, agreeable to his orders, passed the *Oder*, Jan. 30. and that his march into *Poland* might be made with the more regularity, he ranged his cavalry and infantry in different bodies, advancing towards the city of *Slawa* in *Silesia*, where he arrived, Feb. 1.

On the other hand, Field-Marshal *Rhein-schild*, who, till then, had rested quietly in his winter-quarters, which extended from *Kostyn* to the frontier of *Brandenburg*, eight leagues in length, had no sooner received advice of the first motion of the *Saxons*, but he assembled his army and took the field, to pass the *Oder*, and enter into *Silesia*, by the road of *Lissa*: at which place having been informed that the enemy had already passed the *Oder*, and was arrived at *Slawa*, he drew towards the frontier, to offer them battle in *Silesia*, if occasion offered: but being advised that *Schulenburg* seemed inclined to pass beside him, and take the road to *Pozna-nia* and the *Warta*, to join more commodiously the *Saxons* under *Brause*, who were in full march from *Cracow* in order to meet him hastily, he guessed at the enemy's intention, which was to fall upon him behind, and manage him the more easily after that junction: on which account, and to avoid all surprize, he measured back the way he came, and passed by *Fraustadt* in his rout to *Swetz*; giving out every where, as he passed along, that his whole design was to avoid a battle; and this he did, to draw *Schulenburg* from his first plan, and tempt him to engage before he was reinforced by *Brause*.

This stratagem succeeded to his wish, *Schulenburg* gave credit to these reports, and, instead of pursuing what he had before projected, fell into the track of our army, and half persuaded himself,

1706. himself, that the very terror of his approach would alone be sufficient to carry all before him. An opinion which he was the more confirmed in, when one of his parties, which he had detached to observe our pretended flight, returned with several carriages loaded with baggage, which they had carried off from our rear. Full therefore of that confidence he advanced as far as *Fraustadt*, where he posted his troops.

Upon which *Rheinschild*, charmed that his feint had prospered so well, *Feb. 3.* faced about without loss of time, and marched on to meet the enemy, with twelve battalions, and thirty-seven squadrons, in three columns, which were composed both of horse and foot.

Schulenburg was then convinced he should have the trouble of a battle, and that it would be scandalous for him to retire with such superior forces: having no less than twenty-nine battalions, and forty squadrons under his command. He proceeded therefore to range his infantry in two lines near *Fraustadt*, between the villages *Jagersdorff* and *Roersdorf*: the first of these lines being composed of sixteen battalions, and the second of nine; and in the front he placed thirty-one pieces of cannon great and small, and forty-four little mortars for throwing grenades; then spread the whole space of ground before his line, with *Chevaux de frise*, linked together with strong chains, and all over bristled with sharp spikes of iron. And, that the *Swedes* might not penetrate into the two villages which covered the right and left of his infantry, he threw into each two battalions, and, for the farther security of his foot, posted his cavalry in the wings, each of which was composed of twenty squadrons,

squadrons, ranged in four lines, to render them the more impenetrable. 1706.

All this while Field-Marshal *Rbeinschild* made his approaches, and, being come within a certain distance, formed of his two columns three lines, the first of which was composed of eight battalions placed in the centre, and commanded by the Major-Generals *Axel Sparre* and *Mardesfeld*; having upon its right twelve squadrons, among which were mingled two battalions: this wing was commanded by the Field-Marshal himself. On the left Major-General *Hummerbielm* commanded eleven squadrons, and two battalions, mingled, as on the right, among the cavalry. The second line consisted of fourteen squadrons ranged at some distance one from the other, in such a manner, however, that, both on the right and left, four squadrons covered them in flank.

The enemy, commanded by an able General, who had made the finest disposition to receive the *Swedes*, waited in their line to receive us till within about a hundred paces distance, when they made a general discharge of all their cannons, in order to thin our ranks, and discompose the firmness with which we had marched up to them. But we did not give them much time to redouble their fire, and before they had given us three rounds, our left wing, as being the most advanced, had begun the combat, soon after which our centre did the same, and all testified an extraordinary ardour.

The *Chevaux de frise* placed before the enemy's infantry, seemed at first to check the impetuosity of our charge, but were soon hurled aside, sword in hand, in spite of the continual fire of the enemy, who were put to flight in
less

1706. less than a quarter of an hour ; our troops having, till then, reserved their fire, which so greatly contributed to our success, that even their second line was shocked, and on the point of giving way. However, they re-assured themselves with great intrepidity, and made a continual fire to abate the extreme ardor of our soldiers : but their most vigorous endeavours were fruitless, and, though they again made head, sometimes in forming themselves into an oblong battalion, sometimes taking advantage of the two adjacent villages, and drawing up behind the hedges in hope to retard the victory, they were at last compelled to yield the day, and take their flight by *Fraustadt*, towards the village of *Birzen*.

As to our right wing, we had there much less difficulty to overcome. Count *Rheinschild*, who commanded it in person, having only six thousand *Russians* divided into eleven battalions to engage, who had turned their coats in order to pass for *Saxons* ; but who did their duty so wretchedly, that, after one single volley, they fell into disorder, and then, throwing down their arms, hurried off in the greatest confusion : upon which our soldiers removing the *Chevaux de frise*, and our cavalry pouring in through the opening, this whole body of *Russians* was put to the sword, not a single man escaping ; and their General *Westromirski* being made prisoner.

The rest of the enemy's battalions, as well in the centre as the wings, having, in this interval, been put to flight, our squadrons, who, after routing their cavalry, were pursuing them at full speed, now observing this total overthrow of the *Saxon* infantry, pushed on before to cut off their retreat, and, by surrounding them on all

sides near the village of *Birzen*, obliged them to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war; by which means in less than an hour the whole affair was ended. 1706.

It must, nevertheless, be acknowledged, that the enemy's cavalry made but a miserable defence, and, by turning tail from the very first, were the principal cause of the instant defeat which followed, and of the total loss of their infantry.

The squadrons of horse-guards commanded by Colonel *Kosspoth*, and attacked by Colonel *Buchwald* at the head of his dragoons, behaved much better than the rest; and, to do them justice, it must be owned they defended themselves gallantly, though they were broke at last, and obliged to follow the herd; having been first abandoned by the other squadrons of the right wing.

It is fact, that, except these two squadrons which stood their ground, all the rest, as well infantry as cavalry, betrayed so much fear from the beginning, that our troops had nothing to do but drive them before them, and only advance, instead of fight.

The Field-Marshal had, from the first, detached certain cavalry to pursue that of the enemy, but though they pushed on full speed, it was impossible to overtake them. So sharp a spur is fear!

Only some hundreds, who had separated from the main body, fell into the hands of the *Swedish Valoches*, and were all put to the sword, either in the open field, or in the wood adjoining to the scene of battle.

Thus the whole *Saxon* army, raised with so much toil, care and expence, commanded by a General who was a master in the art of war, greatly

1706. and greatly superior in number to the *Swedes*, was totally defeated in less than an hour's time, with the loss of seven thousand men killed upon the spot.

Among the prisoners were Lieutenant-General *Wustromirski*, Major-General *Lutzelburg*, Colonel *Mellaredes*, another Colonel who died immediately of his wounds; with four hundred officers and subalterns, and seven thousand six hundred and sixty-three soldiers, scarce five hundred of the enemy's infantry escaping. We took likewise above a hundred ensigns and standards, together with thirty-one pieces of cannon.

We had four hundred men killed, and fourteen hundred wounded. Among the first of which were the following officers of distinction: Colonel *Lillieboek*, Governor of *Posnania*; Lieutenant-Colonel *Cronbielm*, and Major *Ornstedt*. And, among the last, Colonel *Buchwald*, the Majors *Wrangel* and *Snoski*, Captain *Loder*, and certain other officers. Field-Marshal *Rheinischbild* had his horse shot under him.

When the battle was over, that General took care to have the wounded on both sides put under cure, and the dead interr'd; after which he removed some leagues from *Fraustadt* towards *Posnania*, where he distributed his army all round about, to refresh themselves after their fatigues.

King *Augustus*, who had set out for *Warsaw* with ten or twelve thousand men, *Saxons*, *Poles*, and *Muscovites*, at the time of the battle, was not above fifteen leagues distant from *Fraustadt*, hoping to enclose the *Swedes* between him and *Schulenburg*, and, by that means, more easily defeat them: but, being disappointed in his expectations

pectations by the loss of that battle, he returned instantly to *Warsaw*, and from thence to *Cracow*, the fortifications of which city he ordered to be repaired and strengthened forthwith ; detaching *Smigelski*, at the same time, to keep an eye upon the *Swedes*, and molest them in their quarters.

The King of *Sweden* was then employed in preparing quarters of refreshment for his army, where, after so dreadful a march in so dreadful a season, they might recover their health, and taste some repose. *Feb. 10.* His Majesty set out from *Kamjunka*, and marched with the army four leagues to *Zaludek*, (a little city a league from the *Niema*, belonging to the *Sapiebas*) where he took up his quarters in the convent of the *Franciscans*.

King *Stanislaus* likewise decamped from *Zembrowa*, and repaired with his column to *Wasielefski*, four leagues from *Kamjunka*, and certain leagues from *Zaludek* : In which place his Majesty received the news of the compleat victory which Count *Rheinschild* had obtained at *Fraustadt*.

All the army was distributed round the quarters of the two Kings, and as close as possible : certain parties only being detached from time to time to reconnoitre the enemy at *Grodno*, where the garrison apparently diminished every day. For, since the entire defeat of the *Saxons*, and the remoteness of the Czar, who was posted at the head of twenty thousand men near *Smolensko*, and gave little hope of his marching to relieve *Ogilvi* ; the last, who was blocked up in *Grodno*, and well knew that, while the *Niema* continued frozen, it was impossible for him to escape out of that calamitous place, found him-
self

1706. self at his wit's end. He had already buried above eight thousand men, who died of diseases, and the remainder were reduced to a condition most sad and deplorable: notwithstanding all which he was still compelled to abide within his lines, and suffer the last extremities; all that was in his power, being to order out his cavalry, who were posted in the adjacencies of *Tykozin* and other places, to establish magazines at *Augustowa*.

His Majesty, receiving early intelligence of this design, detached immediately Colonel *Kruus* with three hundred horse to take possession of *Augustowa*, and harass the enemy on the road; with orders to put all they met to the sword. This party took the road towards *Indura*, through which *Meyerfeld* was come a little while before. As they met with no body in that rout, *Kruus* marched strait to *Grodno*, within half a league of which, he cut to pieces a little party which had been detached to raise contributions. After which he passed on, in sight of the enemy, towards the city of *Nowiword*, situated between *Grodno* and *Tykozin*, detaching a party by the way to give chase to a great number of *Russians* in a neighbouring wood, who were all killed upon the spot. After which, upon the same road, they encountred a Captain, by birth an *Englishman*, with seventy *Russians*, who, at first, stood upon his defence in a certain village, and even began to fire upon us, but was soon obliged to surrender himself prisoner, with the few which remained of his troop, having first seen all the rest cut to pieces. Arriving at *Nowiword*, the Colonel surprized a Lieutenant with sixty dragoons, who were all put to the sword except the Lieutenant himself, who was taken

taken prisoner, and two dragoons, who had the good luck to make their escape. 1706.

Kruus having taken up his quarters at night, in that place, and being informed that two thousand three hundred of the enemy's horse were then in the long village of *Dlugowitz*, where his Majesty had given audience to the Ambassadors of the Republic, when upon his entrance into *Poland*, *An. 1702*, he marched thither the next morning, when it was broad day, in the hope to find them still there; but they, having received advice by the two dragoons, who escaped from *Nowiword*, made off full speed, to save themselves in the city of *Lipkia*, where there was another *Muscovite* regiment, which they took along with them, and all together galloped post to *Grodno*. *Kruus* followed instantly, and, to retard them, detached his *Valoches* before to harass their rear: but notwithstanding, they never once faced about, and, aiming at nothing but to escape, left at the mercy of the *Valoches* about fifty or sixty men, who were all made prisoners, together with a Lieutenant. The Colonel then, weary of pursuing an enemy he could not overtake, and convinced that the alarm of his expedition was spread all round the country, wheeled about, all at once, towards *Augustowa*, to which place he had still ten leagues to march; and the way lying through a wood eight leagues in length, which was rendered quite impassible, by the trees they had felled across the road, he was compelled to take a new rout, across morasses, lakes, and rivers; during which progress, approaching a convent in the middle of a wood, he surprized seventy *Russians* and two Lieutenants in an adjacent village, who, except the officers and a few of the men,

1706. men, were all put to the sword : after this, finding himself near *Augustowa*, he detached before him ten horse to secure the avenues which led to the city, and followed immediately after himself with the rest of his corps.

As the *Russian* Major, who had been in garrison in that place, with some hundreds of *Russians*, was advised in time of the march of our troops, he thought proper to retire the evening before we arrived there towards *Prussia*, upon the frontiers of which *Augustowa* is situated.

When the *Swedes* came before that city, they found it well furnished with palisades, but very ill guarded, there being but one Lieutenant, one Cornet, and seventy dragoons in the place, who were surprized when taking their repose, and all killed except the Cornet only, who, being a *Scotchman*, was allowed quarter.

After this expedition *Kruus* rested some days at *Augustowa*, his troops being extremely fatigued with so violent a march : when, having consumed the provisions and forage which the enemy had amassed, and burned what they could not carry away, he returned through *Liepnin* and *Merecz*, where he cut to pieces certain troops of *Wisniowski*, and then proceeded on to the King's quarters, where he arrived without having lost any more than five men, and after having marched in six days time fifty-two leagues.

The territory of *Caun* had been assigned to the *Polish* and *Lithuanian* troops commanded by Count *Potocki*, Palatine of *Kiovia*, and Count *Sapieha*, Palatine of *Wilna*, for their winter-quarters : but, as that district was too remote, and they mistrusted the near neighbourhood of the *Russians*, who were posted in the Dutchy of
Courland,

Courland, it was but with an ill will that they removed so far from the *Swedes*: neither was the apprehension without ground; for General *Bauer* having joined Prince *Wisniowski*, *Oginski*, and *Zaraneck*, with three thousand *Russians*, they formed all together an army of eight thousand men in the neighbourhood of *Sadowa*, in *Samogitia*. Upon the first advice, therefore, that the King received from Count *Potocki*, he judged it expedient, for the security of that *Palatinate*, to detach to his succour nine hundred dragoons, under the command of Colonel *Ducker*, with orders to attack the enemy wherever he should find them, and, by that means, cure them of their ambition to disturb the *Polish* quarters for the future: and, in his return, to ruin all the estates belonging to the enemies of the King of *Poland*, and put the city of *Wilna* under contribution.

Accordingly, *Feb. 22.* Colonel *Ducker* marched strait on to the city of *Wolkiniki*, where he halted till the *Polish* and *Lithuanian* Palatines joined him with their troops. In the mean while General *Bauer*, who knew nothing of all this, was on the road to surprize the *Poles*, and already so near, that, when Colonel *Ducker* marched out of *Wolkiniki*, both parties were alike surprized, to rencontre each other in a wood, within a quarter of a league of that city.

Our van was presently attacked by that of the enemy; and, though the space between the trees was very narrow, the Colonel drew up his squadrons, one after another as well as he could, and advanced in good order to a little plain in the middle of the wood, where he extended his front, to make his force appear to more advantage. But he had scarce began to form his line,

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before

1706. before the enemy rushed out from among the trees to begin the attack, but were so briskly received sword in hand, that they soon retired in great confusion, and took shelter yet farther in the wood: however, not warned by this essay, they returned a second time to the charge with more troops, and renewed their attempt on all sides; but with no better success than before, being again repulsed into the wood. After which *Duker*, to prevent a third onset, which the enemy were preparing, ordered a part of his dragoons to alight, and with the rest on horseback penetrated the wood, where he attacked the *Russians* so vigorously, that they instantly disbanded, and flew on all sides, having made but one single discharge.

The enemy lost in this action a Colonel, two Lieutenant-Colonels, four Captains, with a great number of soldiers killed or wounded, which they carried off with them according to their custom. *Duker* then returned to *Wolkiniki* to put under cure three of his Captains, three Lieutenants, and about sixty dragoons, who were all wounded.

As to the *Poles* they had very little share in the action, contenting themselves with looking on without shewing any inclination to share in the danger. The others (*Lithuanians*) never once appeared till all was over, when they fell in with the pursuit; so that *Duker*, with his nine hundred dragoons, alone defeated the enemy, who had thrice the number.

Feb. 25. he marched on to the city of *Wilna*, whither the *Russians* were retired; who had scarce heard of his approach, before they flew to horse, and made off full speed towards *Samogitia* and the frontiers of *Courland*, never once halting

halting till they came to a place of safety. But 1706.
what is pleasant enough, at *Mitau*, General *Bauer* ordered *Te Deum* to be sung; without question to thank God for his happy escape out of the hands of Colonel *Duker*. Which last, not meeting with any of the enemy's troops in his way to *Wilna*, rested there some days, and put the city under contribution.

The *Polish* army, refusing to return to their quarters till they were well guarded against a new invasion from the *Russian*-posts in *Courland*, remained with the *Swedes* at *Wilna*, till they heard, a little after, that General *Bauer*, after having ruined the castle of *Mitau*, was retired out of that province into *Russia*; when they ventured to return to their quarters in the adjacencies of *Caun*.

The news of the victory of *Fraustadt* being spread through *Lithuania*, so greatly discouraged the partizans of King *Augustus*, who were beside wearied out with supporting both friends and enemies, that they began at last to acknowledge King *Stanislaus*: to which his Majesty's manifesto so marvellously contributed, that Lords and Deputies arrived every day at the King of *Poland*'s quarters at *Wasilieski*, to make their submission to his Majesty.

Among the *Grandeess*, there remained only Prince *Radziwil*, sworn enemy to the House of *Sapieha*, who would not follow the example of the majority, but obstinately adhered to King *Augustus*; as did likewise *Wisniowski*, *Oginski*, and certain others, though at so dear a price, as the ruin of their estates, which were very numerous in this country, and were all laid desolate by the *Polish* and *Swedish* soldiers.

1706.

Provisions begun now to be more plentiful in the quarters of the two Kings, by the care of the *Jews*, who rendered us great services in the course of this war, by procuring, at great hazard to themselves, abundance of eatables, and, especially exceeding good wines.

Certain *French* merchants of *Konigsberg*, likewise, did the same, and, though they run great risque on the roads, from thieves and murderers, frequent in *Poland* in time of war, they profited so well by the commerce, as in all likelihood to make themselves easy for the rest of their days.

As to the horses, they always suffered greatly, through the want of forage, and, though our troops had leisure for repose, diseases still continued to rage among them. King *Stanislaus*, nevertheless, recovered from his indisposition, which, at first, gave some apprehensions.

The King of *Sweden* now gave orders to throw a bridge over the *Niema*, or the *Memel*, one league from his quarters, and nine from *Grodno*, where Count *Stenbock*, Lieutenant-General, had his quarters, with the regiment of *Dabl-Carlia*, and likewise the direction of the bridge.

Nevertheless, the King often repaired thither to encourage the labourers, and observe what progress they made; and one night, *March 8.* being there, and near the bridge, when he was on his return over the ice, to take horse for his quarters, at a place where the current was exceeding rapid, and the ice exceeding thin, it gave way, all at once, underneath him, and plunged him up to the neck in the river.

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The danger was extreme, and so much the more dreadful as the rapidity of the stream would have infallibly dragged him down, without a possibility of succour: had not he, by good fortune, found footing on a heap of sunk ice, upon which he stood upright, and supported himself against the torrent.

In this terrible extremity, the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, (who had once already saved the King's life, and was always near him) Mr. *Siegroth*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment of *Dahl-Carlia*, and the young Count *Wachtmeister*, threw themselves instantly upon the ice; and the Prince catching hold of one of his Majesty's hands, held it above water, till more help came to draw him out, which was at last happily effected, though not without great difficulty and danger.

It may justly be said, that the King was never in greater danger than on this occasion, in his whole life; which, in all human probability, had here lost, if the ice had not held firm under those, who threw themselves along upon it for his preservation.

Count *Stenbock*, who came up with the other officers of his regiment in this interval, turned pale at this spectacle, and stood as if immovable, at the sight of the danger to which his Majesty had been exposed. But, though he implored him to stay that night at *Ollowa*, to change his cloaths, and get himself warm again, the King replied as usual, 'Twas nothing, and, remounting his horse, though dripping wet, his boots full of water, and the weather piercing cold, returned in that equipage to *Zaludeck*: In the road to which place he had another dangerous fall, at the instant that a waggon-load of

1706. timber was driving on to the bridge: his horse being already under the wheels, and his Majesty on the point of perishing, when the team was stopped by the very outcries of those who were witnesses of his danger.

Thus a journey, which threatened so many misfortunes, ended at last without any ill consequences: his Majesty only, contrary to his usual custom, keeping in his lodgings all the next day, where he, nevertheless, gave audience to the deputies of *Wilna*.

The Czar, while at *Smolensko* with his army, had summoned thither General *Mazeppa* with thirty or forty thousand *Cosagues*, who shewed themselves in several places in the neighbourhood; and, after having been reinforced by some thousands of *Russians*, they took up their quarters in *Minsko*, *Sluczk*, *Nieswiecz*, *Lacowicz*, and other little cities; from whence they made continual excursions, in hope to surprize us.

Though his Majesty had already parties on the other side the *Niema*, or *Memel*; he nevertheless, on receiving this intelligence, detached Lieutenant-Colonel *Trautsetter* with one hundred and eighty horse towards *Novogrodeck*, to join the two hundred and seventy already in garrison there, and afterwards give chase to fifteen hundred *Cosagues*, who were posted in the city of *Niezwiecz*, belonging to Prince *Radzivil*, great Chancellor of *Lithuania*, and near to which he had a castle fortified, into which the commander had refused them admittance.

The Lieutenant-Colonel, in obedience to these orders, so regulated his march, that he arrived, *March 13*. before *Nieswiecz*, by day-break; when, ordering all his men to alight, and forming

ing three battalions, he happily scaled the walls, and made himself master of the city-gates : after which he attacked the *Cosaques* on all sides ; who, having had time to draw up in the market-place, barricaded the streets in the best manner they could, and, at the same time, kept a continual fire upon the *Swedes*, who, nevertheless, pressed upon them so vigorously, that, in less than half an hour, they killed three hundred of them, together with their chief, and took four pieces of brass-cannon.

After which *Trautfetter* ordered his horse to scour all the streets, that none might escape : but, notwithstanding this precaution, five hundred threw themselves into a convent ; and the rest, having taken shelter in the houses round the market-place, fired upon us continually and wounded several. To put a stop to which in the most effectual manner, *Trautfetter* ordered the houses to be fired, by which means six hundred *Cosaques* were destroyed in the flames, and those who escaped surrendered themselves prisoners, who, together with those taken in the action, amounted in all to a hundred and eighty men.

As to those who retreated to the convent, *Trautfetter*, not being able to master them so easily, left them in peace ; and, according to order, marched on to dislodge, likewise, the two thousand, posted near the castle of *Lakowicz*, after having sent to the army the prisoners and the wounded, the last of which including the officers, amounted to forty men.

This second enterprize did not, however, succeed, because the enemy was already retired to the castle, after having first set the city on fire. *Trautfetter*, therefore, seeing it was not in

1706. his power to reach them, returned to *Novogrodeck*, ordering out his parties, by the way, on all sides, to lay waſt the enemy's eſtates, which gave occaſion to ſeveral little encounters that were ſmart enough.

March 26. his Majeſty detached yet another party of ſix hundred horſe, under the command of Baron *Charles Creutz*, Colonel of the regiment of horſe-guards, with orders to march to *Slonim*, as well to obſerve the enemy in their quarters, as, afterwards, to re-aſſemble all our detachments poſted on the other ſide the *Niema*, and give chace to all the enemies they met, to enable himſelf to lay ſiege at leiſure to *Lacowiecz*, where the *Cofaques* were enſloſed.

When, therefore, Colonel *Creutz* was arrived at *Slonim*, and found the enemies he was to obſerve were only certain miſerable *Polish* vagabonds, he did not think it worth his while to purſue them, but contented himſelf with collecting together the parties, which had been detached in different places.

As ſoon as all theſe were re-aſſembled, the Colonel put himſelf at the head of fifteen hundred horſe and dragoons, without reckoning the *Valoches* and *Poles*, and marched directly to *Lacowiecz*: near which he encountred a large body of *Cofaques*, who were ſoon drove for refuge into their caſtle. He then poſted his troops in the beſt manner he could, in the houſes in the ſuburbs, which the flames had ſpared, and, in that manner, held the enemy cloſely blocked up, though they fired their cannon continually, and made frequent but ineffectual ſallies, with a view, principally, to ſet fire to the houſes in which the *Swedes* were lodged.

It was about this time, that the rocks of ice, 1706.
loosened with the thaw, and carried down the
Niema, by the waters melted from above, broke
the bridge we had thrown over the river near
Ollowa : and, though we laboured instantly to
repair it, General *Ogilvi*, who waited for that
opportunity, took the advantage to retire from
Grodno, which he effected with such diligence,
(after having sunk all his cannon and ammunition
in the *Niema*, of which he had great abundance)
that it was impossible to overtake him.

That General had lost, during the blockade,
above eight thousand men, beside two Generals,
who died by sickness : and the rest of his people
were so enfeebled by hunger and wretchedness,
that numbers perished in that precipitate
retreat ; which was made through various roads
little frequented, and in various columns, thro'
Brescici towards the *Volbinia*. They had, however,
the precaution to leave certain detachments
in the passes of the morasses through which they
marched, to retard our pursuit in case we had
followed them.

Though it seemed impossible to come up with
the enemy, who had gained so many days
march, especially as the bridge was broke, and
the roads were, beside, almost impassable, his
Majesty, who had rested some days longer in
his quarters, resolved, nevertheless, to decamp,
as soon as the bridge was repaired. Accordingly,
April 4. he passed the *Niema* with his column,
and another little river, over which, likewise,
they had thrown a bridge, near *Orta*, marching
that day five dreadful leagues and a half through
Skura, as far as *Derezini*.

1706. It is impossible to express how much the men and horses suffered in that one day's march: as the last, in particular, were almost famished for want of forage, as the country was marshy, and the roads filled with mud, rotten with the late thaw, it was with the utmost difficulty they were able to drag their legs through: and, as to the baggage, it sunk in so deep, that it took two days to extricate it again; but one carriage, belonging to the King, being able to make way.

During all this time, no provision could be made for the King's table, and he thought himself happy in having a morsel of bread in his pocket, to appease the hunger he felt, in a country wholly desolate. The next day, *April 5.* his Majesty proceeded as far as *Blezenice*, (two leagues) where he was obliged to halt for the baggage.

King *Stanislaus*, who had with him three regiments of foot, viz. the artillery, and those of *Rank*, and *Clerk*, and certain cavalry, the whole commanded by Lieutenant-General *Stromberg*, set out, *April 6.* from his quarters at *Wasiliski*, with his court and the grandees of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, who followed him, and marched that first day three leagues, as far as *Zahudeck*, from whence he pursued the same rout the King of *Sweden* had taken, and met with the same difficulties and hardships we had undergone before him.

However painful this horrible march was, his Majesty, *April 10.* after the arrival of his baggage, still persisted; but could reach no farther than *Zezernice*, one league, where he was again obliged to halt certain days, the roads being become wholly impassable, because of the huge morasses,

morasses, we met with almost at every step; 1706.
and, to compleat our misfortunes, all the villages
and houses we found in our way were deserted,
and no more provisions any where to be met
with for the army.

But, in spite of all these obstacles, the King
continued still resolute to make war upon the
partizans of King *Augustus*: to which purpose,
he determined to march into *Polesia* and *Volbi-*
nia, both for the better subsisting his troops, and
to reduce the malecontents to reason; tho' there
were nothing but morasses to cross from thence
to *Kiow*, and though it was represented to him,
as an enterprize wholly impracticable for an
army.

April 14. The King continued his rout as far
Rosanka, (three leagues) a considerable city,
belonging to the *Sapiebas*, but then so wholly
ruined, as well as the castle, by *Oginski* and the
Russians, that, except the *Jews* who had a semi-
nary there, we did not meet one living soul.
At this place the morasses begin, and extend
through the whole rout, without interruption.

The 16th, the army entered into *Polesia*,
where the greatest families of *Lithuania* have
fine estates, and reached a village called *Alba*,
(two leagues) where there is a fine seat belong-
ing to the Starost *Bobrowiski*, of the family of
Sapieba, and where we found a large quantity of
corn, which came most seasonably. Here the
King received advice that fifteen thousand *Rus-*
sians were posted five leagues from thence, near
the convent of *Borexa*, to defend the pass,
which was some thousand paces long, and, to
the full, as broad; beside which it was cut thro'
in several places, and the communication pre-
served by bridges, then all broken down by the
enemy;

1706. enemy ; who had likewise raised barricades on the other side, and of course rendered the passage more difficult than ever. His Majesty, however, gave orders immediately for two battalions of foot-guards and certain field-pieces to lead the way, in profound silence, and under cover of the night, through the great woods and marshes, to surprize the *Russians*, at present employed in raising redoubts and other works on the other side of the pass.

The next morning the King himself followed, and, finding the infantry already arrived, immediately ordered his cannon to play, which killed ten or twelve men. The issue of this enterprize, however, appeared so much the more uncertain, as the number of inlets and barricades in the causey, presented an obstacle, which seemed hardly possible to be surmounted.

The King, nevertheless, without hesitating a moment, put himself at the head of his grenadier-guards, accompanied by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, Major-General *Meyersfeld*, and certain other officers, rushed into the pass, and threw himself into the water, under the angles of the first barricade, where there had been a bridge : at the same time, causing the depth to be sounded with pikes, in order to know what danger there was of drowning.

The *Russians*, astonished at such intrepidity, and observing with what a menacing countenance the *Swedes* made their approaches, never waited for their arrival, but, without losing a moment, made off full speed ; and, by that means, spread such a panic through another of their parties entrenched some leagues off, near *Sielce*, that they retreated; likewise, in spite of the resolution they had taken at first to defend them-

themselves: all flying together in great confusion towards *Pinsk*. 1706.

When his Majesty was got to the end of this pass, which might easily have been defended by a handful of men against a whole army, if the enemy had been resolute; he ordered the *Valoches*, having no other horse with him, to give them chace, which they did, and returned with several prisoners.

We found among the wounded near the *Redoubt*, a Captain, a * *Frenchman* by birth, lying on the place, who had lost his left arm by a cannon-shot, and was moreover wounded on the same side, whom the King regarding in that miserable condition, with that noble compassion, inseparable from the brave, stopt to have him ask'd, if he believed his wounds were curable? Which the Captain observing, and by the description he had heard of his Majesty, believing it to be him, instead of answering the question put to him, enquired with great earnestness of those about him, if the King of *Sweden* was in the action? adding, that he ardently wished to see him before he died. Upon which the Prince of *Wurtemberg* distinguishing his Majesty with his hand, the Captain bow'd with great veneration towards him, bestowing on him a thousand benedictions, and protested he should now die in peace. He expired a few hours after in a village, whither he had been conveyed, with a tranquillity that surprized every body, and even the King himself, who could not help lamenting the death of so gallant a man. He

* Mr. *Grimaret* has had the goodness to tell us his name was *Busanville*, which may possibly be true; but no such name is mentioned in my father's journal.

1706. was interred the next day with all the honours of war.

The King, having left the two battalions at *Bereza*, and given orders for repairing the bridges in the pass, returned the same day with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, wet as they were to *Alba*, from whence he set out again the next, *April 18.* for *Bereza*: where his Majesty took up his lodgings, together with his court, in the *Chartreux-Convent*, which is a rich foundation, well built, endowed by one of the *Sapiebas*, and situated in a country both fertile and agreeable. His Majesty rested there one day: after which the army decamped, *April 20.* and, marching through continual marshes, with infinite fatigue, reached the village of *Lekowice*, (three leagues) and the 21st, *Comok*, (two leagues and a half) leaving on the left, a quarter of a league from that city, a little fortress, called *Zabirs*, surrounded on all sides with fens, and belonging to Prince *Wisniowski*: accessible only in one place, defended by four bastions, a deep ditch, and palisades, and having above forty pieces of cannon upon the ramparts.

It happened, during this march, that one of the enemy's parties, consisting of three companies of foot, commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel of the troops of *Poczci*, who King *Augustus* had made Great-Treasurer of *Lithuania*, were discovered, and taken prisoners in a manner singular enough.

They had orders to throw themselves into *Zabirs*, from which they were not far distant; but, unhappily for them, Count *Sapieba*, Treasurer of the crown, Adjutant-General *Tittinghof*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Hammerbielm*, and *Charles Adlerfelt*, a Gentleman of the court,

with some others, and their servants, who might in all amount to fifteen or sixteen persons, being by chance strayed a little out of the road, fell in with them, and, without ceremony, bid them lay down their arms. 1706.

This the *Poles*, at first, seemed inclined to dispute, but when they saw the *Swedish* army advancing at distance, they thought no more of resistance, and surrendered themselves all prisoners of war. The King, being then come up, immediately commanded certain troops to conduct them, together with their baggage and their waggons to *Comok* : but, being advised they belonged to *Poczci*, set them at liberty the same evening ; having first ordered half their beards to be clipped off, the skirts of their cloaths circumsised, and passports to be tied about their necks, with menaces that, if ever again they appeared in arms against the King of *Sweden*, they should all be hanged. Upon these terms the soldiers were permitted to escape, but, as to the officers, they were still detained, and obliged to follow the army : which, after one day's repose at *Comok*, without making any attempt on the fortress of *Zabirs*, set out again, *April* 23. for the village of *Drazalovice*, (three leagues) and from thence, the 24th, for *Pinsk*, (five leagues) which, after *Breszizi*, upon the *Bug*, is the capital of *Polesia* ; making part of the domains of the Kings of *Poland*, though then belonging to *Wisniowski* : it is of considerable extent, and would be handsome, if the buildings, began there, were finished ; especially the palace of *Wisniowski*, which is grand and spacious, having a fine garden, but, like the rest, is not completed.

This

1706.

This city is situated as in the centre of all these vast marshes, which here, at some seasons, look like a sea; and may be navigated with barks of considerable burden down as far as the city of *Kiow*, especially with the help of the river *Pina*, which, with several others, discharges itself into the *Nieper*, and which was of great service to a party of the *Russians*, who, after their defeat, took this rout, as the safest, towards their native country.

In the middle of this huge marsh, or sea, certain eminencies rise like islands, though not approachable but in skiffs or canoes; and, tho' all this extent of water is covered with bulrushes, which give it the resemblance of a labyrinth, the inhabitants are, notwithstanding, so well acquainted with all the turns and doubles, that they never fail of finding the place they aim at, somewhat in the manner of travelling on the canals in *Holland*; whereas a stranger shall lose himself a hundred times, before he lights upon the right track he ought to follow.

There is in this city a college of Jesuits, who have a dispensary, which is a thing very rarely to be met with in this country. Beside these it is inhabited by all sorts of people, of different religions, especially *Greeks*, and a great number of *Jews*, who have a synagogue. The inhabitants of this province are, likewise, more laborious than elsewhere: and the manufacture of *Russia* leather at *Pinsk*, is esteemed the finest in the kingdom.

Never army before had dared to penetrate so far; the most antient histories of *Poland* mentioning no such thing; and the people were so generally convinced, that it was impossible to surmount

surmount the difficulties, which such a continual succession of marshes must offer upon a march, that they were under the greatest astonishment to see the *Swedes* within their borders. 1706.

The King was scarce alighted off his horse, but he ascended the steeple of the *Jesuits* church, to examine the odd situation of that strange country, and, observing that continual succession of water, till the very eye-sight failed, he said smiling, *See my non plus ultra*. It was, in effect, absolutely impossible to penetrate strait on from hence into *Volbinia*, either by the help of bridges, or barks, as his Majesty had at first proposed.

The King, therefore, resolved to remain some weeks at this place, to wait the arrival of the rest of the regiments, which were as yet far behind. During which interval, he ordered the roads to be repaired with all diligence, and bridges to be thrown over several places, to render his egress more commodious than his entrance had been.

Colonel *Creutz*, who was left in arrear to continue the blockade of *Lacowitz*, having received advice that some thousand *Russians* and *Cosaques* seemed inclined to march to the relief of that fortress, detached certain parties for more exact information: who not only confirmed the arrival of the enemy in the adjacencies of the city of *Kletsk*, at three leagues distance, but, likewise, that they intended, after taking one day's repose, to set out towards the evening, in order to surprize him, under covert of the night.

That day the Colonel had received a reinforcement of four thousand dragoons, commanded by a Major, which his Majesty had detached, while upon his march, to join him,

1706. and, therefore, resolved to take the advantage, and be beforehand with the enemy. Accordingly, he set out at eleven o'clock the same evening, having left Lieutenant-Colonel *Traut-fetter* to watch the blockade.

But, whatever care the Colonel had taken to conceal his march, it was discovered by the advanced guards of the enemy; who, having had time to range themselves, he found them, at day-break, in order of battle; part in the city of *Kletsk*, and part on the other side, and beyond a marsh covered with a bridge: beside which the streets were filled with *Russian* foot, and the *Cosaque* cavalry.

Notwithstanding all which fine dispositions and preparations, *Creutz* began the attack in several places, especially, where he believed it most to his advantage: and though the enemy returned a violent and continual fire, he had the good fortune in less than half an hour's time, to push all the infantry into the marsh, where, not being able to advance, or retire, they were all cut to pieces. At the same time, the bridge, which, as observed before, led out of the marsh, was so choak'd up with the bodies of horses and men, killed and wounded, that *Creutz* could hardly get over to attack the rest of the troops on the other side, which made their utmost efforts to dispute the passage.

Our squadrons, however, having gained ground by little and little, and, at last, arrived to the end of the bridge, those who passed first attacked the enemy, sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that both horse and foot were repulsed, and driven off in confusion to the distance of a quarter of a league.

Creutz

Creutz then lengthened out his line, to give them chace in platoons; because it was difficult to advance in large and close bodies in such a boggy country: and, in this order, put to the sword, all they could overtake for half a league together; when, not caring to pursue them any farther, he returned towards the city, and sent out his parties, on all sides, to destroy all the *Russians* and *Cosaques* who had hid themselves in the houses, and ovens; above four thousand of whom perished in the city, and the open field; among which was *Apostol Andres*, the *Cosaque* General, sent hither by *Mazeppa* in his place.

The *Russian* General had the happiness to escape with a wound in his arm; and no quarter was given but to one *Cosaque* Colonel, one Captain, and seventy men, who were made prisoners. We took, beside, four pieces of brass cannon, sixteen standards and ensigns, and four pair of kettle-drums.

The besieged, in the mean while, no sooner observed that a large body of the besiegers were marched off, but they endeavoured to make use of the opportunity, by making continual sallies; and, as their number, likewise, continually increased, *Trautfetter* saw himself obliged to send advice to *Creutz* by an express; who, having received it, staid but two hours after the action of *Kletsk*, before he returned without loss of time, leading the way himself, and being followed only by a handful of his men.

The besieged perceiving the return of these troops, took it for granted the *Swedes* were beat, and even signified their joy upon the occasion, by sounding their trumpets and kettle-drums: but it lasted no longer than till the arrival of the rest of the detachment, who posted thither

1706. as fast as possible: for the besieged, then seeing the trophies which were spread before them, and hearing the double discharge which the *Swedes* made upon the castle, with the assistance of the four pieces of cannon just taken, while, on another side, they raised batteries, and opened the trenches, lost all courage, and beat a parley in order to capitulate: which being refused, they surrendered at discretion, *May 2.* to the number of one thousand, three hundred and sixty-one men, officers, and subalterns, included, who all laid down their arms. We likewise took nine pieces of cannon, and nine ensigns and standards.

King *Stanislaus*, who, as hath been observed, followed with his column that of his *Swedish* Majesty, passing near *Zabirs*, summoned the Governor to surrender, who, not only refused, but fired upon our troops; which the King of *Sweden* being made acquainted with, detached thither immediately Major-General *Meyerfeld* to reduce him to reason: but he receiving no other answer, than had before been given to King *Stanislaus*, his *Swedish* Majesty repaired thither himself, and, after having made the tour of the fortress, as well as the marsh would give him leave, returned to *Pinsk*, to order the artillery. Upon which the Governor, who, till then, would listen to no proposal, began to change his tone, especially, when he was threatened with the utmost rigour, if he persisted in his obstinacy, and surrendered at discretion with all his garrison, which consisted of seven hundred men. As this place belonged to *Wisniowski*, it was levelled with the ground, the forty pieces of cannon on the ramparts were burst, and all the

the houses, together with the magazines, burnt to ashes. 1706.

King *Stanislaus* then wheeled from *Comok* near *Zabirs*, more to the right, towards *Poland*, and, after having passed through *Opolia*, and the city of *Motol*, reached *Molodowa*, four leagues and a half from *Pinsk*, where he took up his quarters, April 27.

It was about this time, that the King received the news of the defeat of the *Russian* and *Cosaque*-succours at *Kletsch* by Colonel *Creutz*, but as he was yet ignorant of the reduction of the fortress of *Lakowitz*, he ordered thither the artillery, destin'd for *Zabirs*, under an escorte of fifty dragoons, and, without saying a word to any body of his design, stole from his quarters, May 2. at two o'clock in the morning, without so much as servant, accompanied only by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, whom he had advertised over night to be ready to follow him.

They rode twenty leagues on a stretch that day to *Lakowitz*, and found the place already given up. Upon which his Majesty ordered it immediately to be rased, which was done so effectually, that, except the inner castle, which belonged to the *Sapiehas*, all was laid level with the ground.

The King then repaired to *Kletsch*, to survey the field of battle, and, upon his return, decamped from *Lakowitz* with *Creutz* and his detachment, and marched over to *Niezvice*, where Lieutenant Colonel *Trautfetter* had defeated fifteen hundred *Cosques*, as hath been already related, and set fire to the city; only a Lieutenant-Colonel, and certain troops being left at *Lakowitz*, as well to guard the prisoners, as

1706. compleat the demolition of the ramparts and walls which furrounded the castle.

When the King was arrived at *Niezwice*, the garrison of which consisted of two hundred men, beside the Burghers and Populace, he immediately summoned it to surrender, by Adjutant-General *Rosenstierna*, and, upon the commander's refusal, ordered him to be told, that he should be hanged with all his garrison, if he obliged the *Swedes* to handle one shovel, or discharge one cannon: upon which, not caring to put his life to such a hazard, he resolved in an hour's time to comply, and surrendered at discretion to his Majesty.

That fortress, which was esteemed one of the finest in *Poland*, was secured by four stone bastions, strong counterescarps, and every thing capable of defence, without any one defect. The seventeen pieces of brass cannon, and the four of iron found there, were all melted down, and his Majesty gave orders to blow up the fortifications, and rase the whole pile, because it belonged to Prince *Radziwil*.

Several parties were detached to lay waste the rest of the possessions of that Prince, which lay in that country, and which were of such an extent, that they equalled the finest principality. Those of many other discontented Lords underwent the same fate. The King then, May 12. repaired, with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, to *Starisk*, the castle of which, belonging to Prince *Charles Philip of Neubourg**, in the right of his wife, threw open its gates immediately to receive him. His Majesty made no stay in this

* At present Elector-Palatine, whose first wife was a Princess of the house of *Radziwil*.

city, which is one of the largest in the country, 1706.
and, after having given orders to Colonel *Creutz*,
to keep a strict eye on the whole province, as
well as to burst all the cannons of *Sluck*, which
carried above eight pound ball, and might
serve the enemy for field-pieces, he returned
without any escorte to *Pinsk*.

It was six o'clock in the evening, *May 13*.
that the King set out on horseback from *Sluck*,
leading in his own hand, as well as all those in
his train, a spare horse, for a change in case of
need; and, by four o'clock the next day, ar-
rived safe at his quarters, having rid, across
marshes and rivers, thirty leagues upon a stretch.
The Prince of *Wurtemberg*, Major-General *Mey-
erfeld*, and two others, were the only persons
able to support the fatigue; the rest remaining
behind at different places. When they were al-
most at their journey's end, they came to the
side of a lake, and, not seeing any person to
ferry them over, were greatly embarrassed, till
chance led them to a small skiff, which they
resolved to make use of themselves, for that
purpose.

The King took charge of the helm, the
Prince held the horses, which were to swim by
the side, and the others rowed. At first all
went well; but, when the horses discerned no
land on the other side, they stopped all at once,
and would proceed no farther. The Prince then
stood in need of all his strength, to hinder them
from over-setting the skiff, or dragging him in-
to the lake: which he both accomplished, and,
likewise, so pacified them at last, that they
swam the rest of the way quietly, and, thereby,
contributed to the ease of the rowers: by which

1706. means all got safe to land, and reached the headquarters, without any ill accident whatever.

In this interval, *Creutz* executed the orders he had received, and, after *Niezvice* was totally burned and rased, rejoined the army with his detachment. As to the garrison of that place they were set at liberty, together with their commander, with menaces, however, to hang them all up, in case they ever more bore arms against King *Stanislaus*, or the King of *Sweden*.

The King now prepared to leave *Pinsk*; but, before his departure, ordered a sort of castle or palace, at the entrance of the suburbs, because it belonged to *Wisniowski*, to be blown up. At the same time he commanded the suburb itself to be burnt for the same reason, and it was reduced to ashes accordingly.

His Majesty, in his march, inclined to the right, to avoid the largest of the marshes; and *May 23.* reached *Duboi*, (three leagues) a place belonging to the Jesuits of *Pinsk*. The same day he likewise made a tour to *Zabirs*, to see what progress was made in the demolition of it; and, by the way, the Prince of *Wurtemberg* had the misfortune to tumble into a marsh, from whence he was dragged out with great difficulty, but lost his horse irrecoverably.

The 25th, the army passed the river *Pina*, and came to *Dolski*, (six leagues) where they halted till the 28th, when they reached *Lubiszowa*, or *Dubieski*, (three leagues) a city which had the guilt of belonging to *Wisniowski*, and therefore was reduced to ashes.

The 29th, we marched on to *Horonize*, (two leagues) and, afterwards to *Serviza*, or *Leshniki*, (four leagues): from thence, the 30th, to *Novaruda*, (four leagues) where we continued till

till June 2. both to refresh the army, and wait for the baggage, which was still behind: the bridges, thrown over the marshes, not able to support such a number of carriages, being broke down in several places. 1706.

June 2. the army advanced to the city of *Holuwka*, (three leagues and a half); from thence, the 3d, to *Zokulof*, (four leagues) and the 4th, by the side of the river *Ster*, to *Rosicze*, (two leagues) where his Majesty ordered the bridge over that river to be repaired. After which, the 6th, the army entered into *Volbinia*, and marched on to *Kolckzyn*, ($1\frac{1}{4}$ leagues) from whence, passing by the city of *Luko*, the 9th, it reached the castle of *Jarislowice*.

Here the King continued some time; and, to facilitate the arrival of the rest of the army, he ordered them to march in several columns, and by various routs; the rear having it in charge, to burn and spoil all the estates of the enemy in their passage.

Major-General *Meyerfeld* was detached, at the same time, with four regiments towards *Breszizie*, a noted pass, situated on the *Bug*, bordering on *Lituania* and *Poland*, it being advised that *Poczici* was posted there with a large number of *Poles*. *Meyerfeld* hastened his march as fast as possible to surprize them, but his diligence was of no use: no enemies being yet arrived. He, therefore, posted himself in the city to expect them, which is famous for the university the *Jews* have there, who repair thither in crowds from *Germany*, *Italy*, *Moravia* and *Silesia*, to study and take their degrees. The whole *Palatinate*, likewise, takes its name from this city, though by some it is called *Polesia*.

There

1706.

There is, beside, in this province another city called *Lipski*, remarkable for the excellent methoglin made there, and which is preferred by many even to the wine of *Hungary*.

During the time that *Meyersfeld* waited at *Breszizie*, partly by gentleness, and partly by threats, he induced the greatest part of the Nobility of that country to declare for King *Stanislaus*, and all that refused were punished with the total ruin of their estates.

Some little time after this, the troops of *Sapieba* amounting to four or five thousand men, joined him, which he employed with success to scour the country. They returned one day with eleven companies, and a regiment of *Polish* infantry, which they had taken prisoners, and who, afterwards, entered all together into the service of King *Stanislaus*.

That Prince, likewise, quitted his quarters at *Molodowa*, together with his court and his column of troops, May 24. the day after the King had quitted his, and marched as far as *Bromitza*, (four leagues) where the regiments halted one day. The 26th, they proceeded to *Balandize*, (four leagues) through the marsh, and the pass near *Niefzitse*, which is a branch of the river *Pina*. The 28th, the regiments repaired to *Dolsky*, (one league and a half.) The next day they passed the *Pina*, and, marched within half a league of *Luboschow*, to *Wola*, (two leagues and a half.) The 31st they removed to *Sczerwitz*, (three leagues) and having halted there one day, advanced, June 2. to *Nowaruda*. The next day they marched through the city of *Trojanacka* to *Holunka*, (three leagues;) the 5th, to *Zanucki*, (three leagues) and the 6th, to *Rockize*, (three more) where they

they threw a bridge over the river *Ster*, and where the regiments of the *Artillery*, *de Rank*, and *de Clerk*, continued of the other side, and did not pass the bridge at all. 1706.

The 9th, King *Stanislaus* with Lieutenant-General *Stromber*, the court, the guards, and some horse, repaired to *Koltzin*, where he took up his quarters. The rest of his column marching the 10th, to *Dorobostai*, (three leagues) and to *Targonitze*, (two leagues) which was but one league from the head-quarters of *Jari-slawice*.

On the approach of our army into *Volbinia*, the inhabitants hurried off on all sides, and the King immediately ordered magazines to be established for the refreshment of our troops, after the dreadful fatigues they had undergone.

This country appeared to us quite a paradise, in comparison with the province which we had left behind us; the fertility being so great, and the plenty of corn so extraordinary, that the inhabitants could not consume it, to our very great satisfaction.

Though the barns, in these parts, are built exceeding large, they are yet not able to contain the abundant harvest of this delicious country: whence they have a custom to pile the sheafs * one upon another, with so much art, that at a distance a stranger would think them little towers in the meadows, where they are left, in open air, the ears being turned inwards, and the straw without; forming from the top, which is pointed, such a sort of slope all round, that the rain is carried quite off, and never pe-

* Our author has taken much pains, here, to describe a corn-rick.

1706. netrates to the grain, which is thus preserved for a long while, without the least damage.

The fields are covered over with these hillocks of corn, insomuch that, at distance, a stranger would mistake them for scattered villages, being all ranged in the manner of a street, the one close to the other, like walls and houses.

In the woods, likewise, are found rosemary, asparagus, pulse, and various wild fruits, which are little inferior to those cultivated by art.

While we took our repose in this charming district, several parties were sent out to levy contributions, and compel the malecontents, by plundering their estates, to pay what was exacted of them : being the best method imaginable to reduce the *Poles* to reason. In the course of which execution, these detachments extending themselves as far as the adjacencies of *Kiow*, the *Russians* were so alarmed, that they assembled the body of an army ; dreading an attack, from the nearness of the neighbourhood.

The Nobility of the country, likewise, who were friends to *Augustus*, concerned for their estates, were in the utmost consternation to see the King of *Sweden* among them. Having never been able to fancy, that an army incumbered with baggage and artillery, could traverse fifty marshes, such a number of passes and defiles, believed, till then, impracticable, and penetrate, at last, into a country, where an enemy had never been known.

Prince *Radziwil*, Grand-Chancellor, appeared above all others the most sensibly touched ; for, beside, that his estates in *Lithuania* were already ruined, and his towns laid in ashes by the *Swedes*, he had still the chagrin to see them on the point of dividing the rest of his possessions :

the

the King of Sweden being quartered a few leagues only from *Olyka*, a fine city of his, where there is an academy, thought it proper to send thither a Swedish garrison. Major-General *Meyerfeld*, being also posted in the adjacencies of *Biala*, another fine estate belonging to that house, but a little way from *Breszizie*, so that it was impossible for either of them to avoid the like fate, which had visited all the rest.

Count *Jablonowski*, Palatine of *Russia*, and his brother, the Standard-bearer of the crown, appeared, likewise, greatly embarrassed at our arrival: for, though they were uncles by the mother's side to King *Stanislaus*, their inclinations were for King *Augustus*, whose friendship they preferred to the nearest ties of blood, whence it was easy to conclude, what sort of treatment they would receive.

The Grand-Chamberlain *Lubomirski*, together with his nephew, the *Oboizni-Coronni*, or Quarter-Master-General of the crown, who had already submitted to King *Stanislaus*, importuned them incessantly to follow their example, and do the same to avoid the chastisement, which the King of Sweden would certainly inflict; and which would be so much the severer, as that, having once acceded to the confederacy of *Warsaw*, they, nevertheless, a little after the election of King *Stanislaus*, changed sides, and, together with the late Grand-General *Lubomirski*, went over to King *Augustus*.

These Noblemen, as well as several others, studied all manner of expedients to play their parts dexterously, in this critical situation, and behave themselves in so nice a manner, as to leave it in their power, afterwards, to follow which faction they pleased. The first step they took, therefore,

1706. fore, was to insinuate themselves into the good graces of King *Stanislaus*, to whom they protested an infinity of zeal and sincerity, in the most respectful terms, and with all the humility possible: which had so good an effect on that prince, always gracious and condescending, that he not only took them into his protection, but even promised to procure them access to the King of *Sweden*.

But his Majesty, who had several times already experienced the inconstant humour of that nation, would not suffer himself to be won so easily, and demurred for some time to the solicitations of King *Stanislaus*. At last, however, giving way to the reiterated importunities of that Prince, he agreed to fix a term for those Noblemen to accede to their duty; which he insisted should be done in a body, and with an unanimous submission to the new King.

Prince *Radziwil* was the only one who made a difficulty to comply, and he suffered the time limited to elapse before he came to a resolution. At last, however, having received repeated commands to come in, and acknowledge his sovereign Lord, he obeyed, and did homage to King *Stanislaus*. The rest of the Nobility of *Polbinia*, among whom was a Prince of the illustrious house of *Czatorinski*, then followed his example, and did the same; having first met in full assembly, and sent deputies to acknowledge him in form for their legitimate Liege-Lord. In this manner did the King of *Sweden*, in a very short time, finish the affairs of *Polbinia*, that he might, with the greater celerity, proceed on to compleat what yet of his plan remained imperfect.

King *Augustus* was still at *Cracow*, where he had constant and indisputable advices of all that passed in *Volhinia* to his disadvantage ; neither did he believe himself in security there, when he learned that Field-Marshal *Rheinsebild* was making his approaches to *Warsaw*, and made certain motions which indicated he meant to inclose him there : to prevent which, he took a resolution to return into *Lithuania*, as likewise to be nearer the Czar, and, if possible, draw the King of *Sweden* out of *Poland*, far from the frontiers of his hereditary dominions.

Leaving, therefore, at *Cracow* a garrison sufficient for the defence of the place, with the residue of his troops, and certain *Russian* regiments, he marched night and day ; and, near *Radom*, fil'd off towards the *Vistula*, which he passed without a moment's delay. After which, having joined the crown-army, he made a feint to attack General *Meyerfeld* who was posted at *Breskizie* : but, having halted on the side of the *Bug*, twelve leagues from *Breskizie*, all at once, he passed the river, the water being then very shallow, and repaired first to *Tykozin*, and then to *Lithuania*, where he distributed his troops in the neighbourhood of *Novogradeck*, expecting, with much impatience, what measures the King of *Sweden* would take ; and whether he would follow him, or not.

His Majesty, however, was far enough from being amused any longer by an enemy, who flew before him from one province, country and river to another, only to mislead him from his purposes, and ruin his troops in pursuing him by continual marches, and intolerable fatigues. On the contrary, he resolved to put a finishing stroke to the war, by entering into *Saxony*, and consequently

1706. consequently oblige King *Augustus* to abdicate the crown, or, in case of refusal, to reduce his country to such a condition, that it should not recover strength again for years, much less furnish out the exorbitant expences of a war. His Majesty, nevertheless, kept his purpose so secret, that no body knew what step he would take next, though all his troops had orders to hold themselves ready for a march.

The King's birth-day was celebrated at *Zarislöwice*, before our departure, after the usual manner, without any distinction from other days, or any pomp whatever: we had not even heard the sound of the drums and trumpets that day, if it had not been *Sunday*, and it was the custom to call the troops to public worship by that signal.

Some days after, his Majesty made one of the greatest promotions that ever was upon record, either in the reign of *Charles XI.* or his own: Creating eight Senators, or Counsellors of State, which is the first dignity in the kingdom. Count *Otto Welling* was named the first, and likewise appointed President of the tribunal of *Abo*, in *Finland*; Count *Gyllenstierna*, Counsellor of State, and Governor-General of *Breme*; Count *Rheinschild*, Counsellor of State, and Field-Marshal of his Majesty's armies; General *Frolich*, Counsellor of State, and President of the tribunal of *Dorpt*; General *Nils Stromberg*, Counsellor of State, and Governor of *Reval*; Count *Posse*, Counsellor of State, and Governor or State-Holder of *Stockholm*; General *Nieroth*, Counsellor of State, and President of the tribunal of *Zonkioping*; Baron *Arwid Horn*, was created a Count, and Counsellor both of State, and of the Chancery. Count *Magnus Steinbock* was made General, and Governor

of *Scania*. Count *Adam Lowenhaupt*, General 1706.
and Governor of *Riga*; and Mr. *Maydel*, and
Baron *Arwid Axel Mardefeld* were appointed
Generals of foot.

There were, moreover, appointed, thirteen
Major-Generals of infantry, and seventeen Co-
lonels; not to mention Lieutenant-Colonels,
Majors, and other Subaltern-Officers.

July 7. All the parties, which had been detach-
ed to levy contributions, being recalled, the ar-
my decamped from *Zariflowice*, passed over the
river of *Ster* near *Sbeckne*, and, leaving the city
of *Lufuc* on one side, reached *Skurza*, (four
leagues) where they rested one day.

The 9th, we passed through the city of
Woinin in our way to *Sainfitza*, (two leagues)
the next day, marching by different routs, we
arrived at *Podbaize*. The 11th, we marched
through the city of *Wlodzimir* to *Horodla*, in
Red Ruffia, and the *Palatinate* of *Beltz*, where
the King very easily passed over the river *Bug*,
which, being there near its source, is neither
broad, or deep enough to be navigable. The
12th, we reached the city of *Dubinka*, (two
leagues) which belonged to King *Stanislaus*,
and where a part of the army, which had taken
a different rout, joined us. After which, the
14th, we proceeded to the city of *Cbelm*, the
capital of the *Palatinate* of that name, where
we took one day's repose.

The 16th, his Majesty directed his course to
Moglize, (two leagues and a half); the 17th,
to *Lenczna*, (three leagues) having left the
city of *Lublin* on the right; the 18th, to *Na-*
zubow, (three leagues and a half); the 19th,
through the city of *Korow*, to *Pulawoa* upon the
Vistula, (five leagues) an estate belonging to

1706. the Palatine of *Belsk*, *Siniowski*, whom King *Augustus* had elevated to the dignity of Grand-General of the crown, in the room of the late Prince *Lubomirski*.

This march was made with so much diligence, that, before the enemy were advised that the King of *Sweden* had decamped from *Jarislowice*, he was far off *Velbinia*, on the banks of the *Vistula*.

Just at this time, Count *Zinzendorff*, with Mr. *Adelshausen* his Secretary, and the rest of his train, being on the point of passing the river, in search of his Majesty on the frontier of *Volbinia*, fell in with our van, who informed him the King of *Sweden* was at hand. Upon which, surprized at the intelligence, he immediately repaired to Count *Piper*, and earnestly demanded a private audience of the King: which having as soon attained, he represented to his Majesty, in the most lively terms, that the Imperial court was greatly alarmed at the report which had been spread of his *Swedish* Majesty's design to enter into *Saxony*, which, in the present posture of affairs, had given birth to a thousand apprehensions, with regard to the empire; resulting from the strict friendship which always had, and then actually did subsist between *France* and *Sweden*. To which it was replied, That the Emperor might depend on the King's upright intentions, who had nothing more at heart than to preserve a good intelligence with his most Imperial Majesty: That the friendship, subsisting between *France* and *Sweden*, had no relation to the affairs of *Poland* and *Saxony*: And, finally, that he might be satisfied his Majesty would never think of troubling the repose of the empire, to oblige any power whatever. Upon receiving which

which assurances, the Envoy took his leave, 1706. and returned to his court.

During this time, all the necessary preparations were made for throwing two bridges over the *Vistula*, one near *Pulawa*, and the other near the city of *Casimir*, that the army might continue its march more commodiously, in different columns, one of which was to be commanded by King *Stanislaus*.

As to the detachment under Major-General *Meyerfeld*, and which, till then, had continued at *Breszizie*, it took the road of *Lukow* in the *Palatinate* of *Lublin*, and repaired to the *Vistula*, which it passed over. *Meyerfeld*, in this march, had the misfortune to lose a Captain and six dragoons, who, having orders to levy contributions, was attacked by some thousands of *Poles*, and killed with almost all his men.

When the bridges were completed, July 23. the King proceeded in his march from the *Vistula* to *Zwolim*, (four leagues) and the 24th, to the city of *Radom*, (four more) where the army continued some days. But, the next following night at eleven o'clock, his Majesty took a resolution to push on eighteen leagues farther, to *Pionteck*, where Field-Marshal *Rhein-schild* was encamped with his army. Choosing for his companions only the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, Prince *Charles Leopold de Mecklembourg*, who joined the army in *Volbinia*, Major-General *Meyerfeld*, Adjutant-General *Caniser*, two *Drabans*, and a *Polish* guide, in all seven persons.

Having travers'd a wood, two leagues from *Radom*, at dead midnight, they fell in, all at once, with one of the enemy's parties, consisting of three hundred *Poles*, who were posted at the

1706. end of the wood, and in the road on the other side: who, at the first, imagining them to be of their own party, and the King, on the other hand, believing them to be *Swedish Valoches*, his Majesty found himself almost in the middle of them, before any explanation ensued on either side. But when Adjutant-General *Caniser*, who led the way together with the *Polish* guide, and who was well versed in the *Polish* language, had demanded the *word*, and received no answer, all were undeceived, and every one, putting spurs to his horse, thought of nothing but making their escape.

At that instant the enemy gave fire, and pursued the King and his train back into the wood; however, without doing them the least mischief, the darkness, as well as the trees, so effectually covering their retreat, that they all happily repassed the wood; and the enemy, manifestly for fear of an ambuscade, then gave over the chase.

This rencontre, nevertheless, so dispersed the whole company, that the King, being soon after thrown from his horse, had no body near to give him assistance; but, as he held the bridle fast, notwithstanding his fall, his horse could not run away, and his Majesty had time to remount. This mischief, however, attended it, that he afterwards lost his way, and was entirely separated from his retinue.

The Prince of *Mecklembourg*, likewise, fell from his horse; but he was not so lucky as the King, his horse taking the bit in his teeth, and leaving him to shift for himself as he could: which obliged him to foot it back to the wood, and there search out the most shadowed places to hide himself till the morning.

The

The Prince of *Wurtemberg* and Major-General *Meyerfeld* kept the road with the rest; and took it for granted, that the King, according to his usual custom, had got the start, and was arrived at *Radom* before them. 1706.

But, when they came to the camp, and heard no news of his Majesty, it occasioned an universal uneasiness; upon which Count *Piper*, being immediately apprized of what had happened, ordered out Colonel *Burenschild*, with two hundred horse, to go upon the spur in search of him, all along that road.

But, though this detachment dispersed themselves on all sides, they found only the Prince of *Mecklembourg* in an equipage ridiculous enough, and which would have excited much laughter on any other occasion: he being mounted on a little pad, he had found near a village, without either saddle or bridle, and labouring hard to put him on, to very little purpose.

As to the King, after having wandered all night, he had the good fortune, at sun-rise, to recover the road to *Radom*, where he arrived alone: and, having learn'd that two hundred horse were out in quest of him, he immediately mounted a fresh horse, and, without stopping a moment, hastened to join them, accompanied by Count *Wrangel*, Captain-Lieutenant of the *Drabans* and Major-General.

About two leagues from *Radom*, his Majesty fell in with the detachment, and selecting fifty of the number, sent back the rest to the army.

With these he continued his journey, and arrived happily at Count *Rheinschild*'s quarters, who was greatly surprized to see his Majesty there, when he believed he had not yet passed the *Vistula*. His Majesty continued here but few

1706. days, during which, he visited the regiments, and, having left behind him the escorte he brought from *Radom*, and taken another from *Rheinschild's* army, returned to his own, July 28. which continued where they were, for a few days longer, till the residue of the troops had passed the *Vistula*.

The *Russians* now recommenced their excursions, on the side of *Kiow*, with large detachments. Delivered from their apprehensions, that his Majesty would conduct his troops into *Russia*, which they feared was his design, in that painful march which he made through *Polesia*, and learning at the same time, that he had left *Kolbinia*, they believed the opportunity favourable to reduce that country anew to his obedience; and so much the more favourable, as they had no reason to expect the least resistance.

There was, nevertheless, but one strong party detached, among so many others, to fall in with our rear, and harass us upon our march: And this had the good fortune to surprize a *Swedish* Lieutenant, with forty horse, at *Lublin*; who, having rambled about from side to side, to raise contributions, and neglected to join the army, before it had passed the *Vistula*, was attacked on such a surprize, that, in spite of the brave defence they made, almost all of them were put to the sword: the Lieutenant himself being dangerously wounded, and escaping with the utmost difficulty, together with a few of his men, to the army.

The *Russians* having no great stomach to pursue us any farther, halted on the other side of the *Vistula*, where they became, in the sequel, every where masters; especially when Prince *Menzikoff* arrived there from *Lithuania* to the succour

succour of King *Augustus*, with twenty thousand 1706.
men, as we shall see presently.

July 31. His *Swedish* Majesty departed from *Radom*, and, together with the army, marched on to *Novamiaslo*, (six leagues) having crossed the river of *Pilsa* in their way. August 1. they proceeded to *Rawa*, (four leagues) and the next day to the city of *Berezini*, (five leagues) where they rested some days, during which his Majesty celebrated a fast, with prayers suitable to the occasion: many of which had that year been observed in *Sweden*.

Aug. 6. The army continued its march to *Strikowa*, (two leagues) which was but one from *Piontek*, where that under *Rheinschild* had continued till then; both of which being now joined, comprehended all the forces his Majesty had in *Poland*.

Aug. 11. The army again decamped, and reached the little city of *Lutomiers*, (five leagues) the column under *Rheinschild* marching all the way a-breast with that of his Majesty. The 13th, they proceeded to the city of *Waria*, (five leagues) the 14th, to *Blaski*, (two leagues) the 15th, to *Olobock*, a cloister so called, (two leagues and a half) the 16th, to *Ostrowice*, (two leagues) and the 17th, to *Solmerzize*, (two leagues and a half) a place on the frontiers of *Silesia*, belonging to King *Stanislaus*.

Here the King rested till the 27th, when his Majesty, in one day's march, passed through the cities of *Zdun*, *Justrozin*, and *Goska*, to *Ravitz*, (six leagues) where his Majesty had his winter quarters the year before.

The King had no sooner taken a resolution to enter into *Saxony*, An. 1706. and to quit *Poland* for some time, than he ordered General *Marde-*

1706. *feld* to post himself near *Kalis* in Great Poland, that he might have a continual eye on the motions of the enemy, and keep those parts under an obedience to King *Stanislaus*, who had a considerable party on his side.

The body of troops which the King left under General *Mardefeld* was composed of the regiment of horse of *Scania*, commanded by Colonel *Gustavus Horn*; of three regiments of German dragoons, commanded by *Crassau*, *Marschalck*, and *Muller*; of three regiments of foot, one *Pomeranian*, under the command of Colonel *Charles Horn*; one *Bavarian*, whose Colonel was named *Goerz*; and a third consisting of two battalions of *French* and *Swissers*, which were taken prisoners at the battle of *Fraustadt*, and had since, at their own request, entered into his Majesty's service. They had been commanded by a *French* Colonel of the family of *Joyeuse*, who was killed by the first, and indeed the only discharge of the *Swedes*, and now *John Funk* was made their Colonel. The *Polonese* were commanded by the Palatin of *Kiowia*, and Count *Sapieha*. At the same time, a garrison was left at *Posnania*, to defend that town in case of an attack.

The Ministers of *England* and *Holland*, the Sieurs *Robinson* and *Haersalt*, who continued at *Dantzic*, by the order of their masters, received at this time the copy of a paper, containing reflections on the satisfaction demanded of *Saxony* by *Sweden*, and the reasons which obliged his Majesty to enter into this Electorate. These Ministers writ to Count *Piper*, that he would divert the King of *Sweden* from invading this country. The King, who had decamped from *Rawitz*, and advanced six leagues thro' *Hernstadt*

in *Silesia*, towards *Odermuble* near *Steinau* on the *Oder*, sent from thence an answer to the Ministers of the maritime powers, by a declaration signed in his name by Count *Piper*, who likewise writ to them at the same time. 1706.

This declaration and letter contained the reasons which induced his Majesty to enter into the hereditary dominions of King *Augustus*. They made it appear, " That the empire had no cause to distrust the honesty of his Majesty's intentions in this just enterprize : That the rumours raised by the enemies of *Sweden* on this occasion were without foundation : That *France* would have but little room to congratulate herself that she had imposed on the estates of the empire, and made them fear the consequences of this inroad : That it was hoped the high allies would have such assurance of, and confidence in his Majesty's sincerity, as would admit of no umbrage: The obliging carriage which his Majesty had supported to his friends and allies, since the beginning of this war, being a convincing proof that he proposed no other end, than the obtaining a just satisfaction, and had taken no more than the necessary steps to insure it."

The King passed the *Oder* at a ford at *Steinau*, at the head of the cavalry, while they were busy in making a bridge for the passage of the infantry, artillery, and baggage. King *Stanislaus* arriving the same day with the regiments under the command of Count *Stromberg*, the whole army assembled according to the following list.

Cavalry.

250
1706.

The LIFE and HISTORY of

Cavalry.

Men.

<i>Drabans,</i>	100
Regiment of Colonel <i>Creutz,</i>	1200
Regiment of <i>Scania,</i> Colonel <i>Ornstedt,</i>	1000
Regiment of Major-General <i>Cruus,</i>	1000
Regiment of the Nobility under Major-General <i>Hummerbielm,</i>	} 1000
Regiment of <i>Smoland,</i> under Co- lonel <i>Dabldorff,</i>	
<i>Ostgoths</i> of <i>Rosenstierna,</i>	1000
<i>Nylanders.</i> Count <i>Tortenson,</i> Col.	1000

Total Corps, 7. Total Cavalry— 7300.

Dragoons.

Men.

The Dragoon-Guards commanded by } Count <i>Rheinschild,</i>	} 1000
Regiment of <i>Meyerfeld,</i> Major-Gen.	
Regimt. of <i>Buchwaldt,</i> Major-General,	1000
Regiment of <i>Duker,</i> Colonel,	1000
Regiment of <i>Taube,</i> Colonel,	1000
Regiment of <i>Hielm,</i>	1000

Total Corps, 6. Total Dragoons— 6000

Infantry.

Men.

Regiment of guards, twenty-four companies, or four battalions of Count <i>Posse,</i> Colonel,	} 3000
<i>Uplanders,</i>	
<i>Sudermanlanders,</i>	1200
	1200

Infantry.

1706.

Infantry.	Men.
<i>Dahl-Carlois,</i>	1200
<i>Westrogoths,</i>	1200
<i>Ostrogoths,</i>	1200
<i>Calmar,</i>	1200
<i>Jonjoping,</i>	1200
<i>Cronberg,</i>	1200
<i>Wafmanland,</i>	1200
<i>Nerik and Wermland,</i>	200

Total Corps, 11. Total Infantry—15000

Artillery,	800
Each regiment had four field-pieces, carrying from four to nine pounds.	
<i>Walachians,</i>	500

Total Corps, 25. Total Men—29600

These regiments were, however, far from having their full compliment according to this list, when his Majesty entered into *Silesia* and *Saxony*. Their continual marches, joined to the distempers which raged among them, and their frequent rencounters with the enemy in *Lithuania*, had much diminished their number. To which add the impossibility of recruiting in *Poland*, on account of the distance of these provinces from *Sweden*, so that every one of these regiments was in a weak condition at their entrance into the empire. We have nevertheless set them down here according to the ordinary establishment, which is kept up in *Sweden* as well

1706. well in times of peace as of war *, and on which they were effectively put soon after in Saxony, where our army was speedily recruited from Sweden, and the levées raised in Silesia.

The army having passed the Oder at Steinau, advanced presently two leagues to *Altschadt* near *Lieben*, where it halted that night. The next day, being the 24th of *August*, they marched to *Geltzig* near *Kleinbaus*, (being two leagues and an half) from whence, on the 25th, they arrived at *Loisdorff*, which is but a quarter of a league from the town of *Lowenberg*. On the 26th, they marched three leagues towards the village of *Krummenoelfe*, which is situated on the frontiers of the *Upper Luface*, near the town of *Greyffenberg*.

Though the Count of *Zinzendorff* was advertised of the necessity under which the King of *Sweden* lay to pass thro' *Silesia*, which was a sufficient excuse of the Court of *Vienna*, and elsewhere, an universal clamour was nevertheless raised, that his Majesty had infringed the peace of the empire, and made a dreadful inroad into *Germany*.

The several courts were divided in their opinions on this affair, as these were guided either by friendship or hatred to the *Swedes*.

The Ministers of the interested powers attended with great vigilance to whatever might concern the tranquillity of their masters. As to those of *England*, at *Ratisbon*, at *Vienna*, and the *Hague*, they endeavoured to alarm the Emperor and the States of *Germany*, to interpose

* Except the regiment of guards only, which is not at present so strong, consisting in time of peace of no more than three battalions, whereof one is of grenadiers.

on behalf of the Elector of *Saxony*, by assisting in his deliverance from the *Swedish* oppression. Their representations on this subject met with so much the more attention, for that the consequences of this invasion now were seen in a dangerous light, particularly to the Empire, on account of this strict alliance which subsisted between *Sweden* and *France*.

The *Swedish* Ministers were not backward on their parts in their assurances to the several powers, that his Majesty, far from meditating the least enterprize which should tend to the disadvantage of the *Roman* Empire, thought of nothing more than to give here new instances of his friendship. That he proposed no other end by this diversion, than to oblige King *Augustus* to give him at length a just satisfaction, of which intention he would give all necessary assurances, though the moderation which he had demonstrated in his late expedition to *Denmark*, ought to be a sufficient proof of that which he would promise to preserve on the present occasion. That as King *Augustus* always employed the riches of his country to the prolongation of the war*, of which it highly imported his Majesty to see an immediate end, it was natural to have recourse to the same source, to make an absolute conclusion of this fatal and miserable dissension, which had already endured so long.

These Ministers declared at the same time, that, justice being on the side of the King their master, who had only repelled the injury of an

* It is reported that this Prince, from the beginning of this war to the entry of the King of *Sweden* into *Saxony*, had drawn from his people eighty-eight millions of crowns in specie, eight hundred cannon, and thirty-six thousand six hundred and forty-eight men.

1706. unjust aggressor, his Majesty had taken a firm resolution, while he was making reprisals, to declare against all such as his enemies, who should pretend, without any necessity, to intermeddle in this affair.

This declaration, being every where dispersed, gave some check to their spirits, who, nevertheless, heartily wished, that the King of *Sweden* had not taken this last step.

Saxony was now under the greatest consternation; an hot alarm had already diffused itself at the beginning of *August*, on a current report, that the King of *Sweden* was on his march with six or seven thousand *Swedes* only, but with an army of upwards of twenty thousand *Poles*, to sack the whole Electorate. And though nobody was able to prove or to give the least positive assurance of this news, it was yet so generally believed through the country, that the Minister of King *Augustus* transported thence hastily all the archives and public acts, and every individual thought of securing his effects with all possible expedition.

This terror was considerably augmented by the Regency of *Dresden*, who, before they had received these orders, which were soon after sent them by King *Augustus*, spread abroad an ordinance, representing, in the most lively colours, the dreadful consequences which were to be apprehended from this irruption.

It was said in this piece *, that infinite examples might be produced of the cruelty of the *Swedes*

* All *Saxony* abounded with infamous writings levelled against the King of

Sweden's person. The Fiscal, who had collected several, presented the list to his Majesty,

Swedes in Poland, where they had reduced many towns to ashes, after having at first amused the inhabitants with hopes of a gentler treatment, by which it might be easy to judge in what manner they would conduct themselves in *Saxony*. That the best councils they could follow in this conjuncture, would be to pack up their all against the arrival of these foreign troops, and secure them even to the smallest article in their towns, which they should barricade, together with their villages, in the strongest manner possible, to stop the enemy at every quarter, and that there might be no want of officers or soldiers to defend them, they should assemble them from all parts.

In the mean time they forbid, on pain of death, and loss of honour and estate, all the inhabitants to furnish the enemy with provisions, or give him any kind of assistance.

But *Saxony* soon recovered from their fears, when they perceived, in their letters from *Lower Lusace*, by which they apprehended the King would take his rout, no mention of any hostilities. This encouraged them to revoke their orders which they had given, to transport away the most valuable effects of King *Augustus* and the Queen his spouse.

As they now gave into a contrary excess, and regarded all the former reports as fables only. The assembly of those whom the *Saxons* call their militia of defence, and of the body of

Majesty, who instead of appearing irritated, answered commodious for those miserable authors, who, if they had not owed their safety to that, would have smarted for traducing a Prince much inferior to *Charles XII.*

Hunters,

1706. Hunters, who had orders to march with all those who were able to bear arms, now proceeded but slowly. They reinforced only, to avoid surprize, the garrisons of *Dresden*, *Wittenberg*, *Leipsic*, and the castle of *Pleissenburg*. As to the rout of the regular troops, they were ordered to assemble on the frontiers of *Lower Luface*, to oppose the entry of the King of *Sweden*.

This state of tranquillity did not last long, for the King having taken quite another rout by the *Higber Luface*, was already on the frontiers of *Saxony*, even before it was believed that he enter'd it.

King *Augustus* remained all this while with his troops at *Novogrodeck* in *Lithuania*, where having learnt the march of the King of *Sweden*, and his passage over the *Vistula*, drawing towards *Great Poland*, he had no longer room to doubt but that his hereditary dominions were about to become the theatre of war. And his own situation was at present so miserable, that he saw no hopes of his being in a condition to prevent the ruin of his country, which now seemed to him inevitable.

Germany, which was now engaged in one of the most bloody wars she had ever sustained, was in no capacity of yielding this Prince any succour. And the twenty thousand men sent him by the Czar, rather embarrassed than assisted him. Nor could he hope from any other ally a force strong enough to drive out of his kingdom the victorious army of *Sweden*, entirely composed of troops enured to war, nor did there appear any possibility of his making in an instant any advantageous diversion. As to the *Poles* who yet sided with King *Augustus*, he could not flatter himself that they were capable

ble of assisting him in this melancholy conjuncture : so that, upon the matter, there remained to this Prince no glimpse of hope to recover his *Polish* crown, whilst he saw his dominions exposed to the mercy of his enemies. It was then the dictate of prudence to sacrifice that which no longer existed in reality, to preserve that which did.

All these considerations hurried King *Augustus* to ask peace of the King of *Sweden*, without communicating it to the Czar, who would not have failed to use all measures to have dissuaded him. *Augustus* named two commissaries for this purpose, namely, the Baron *Imhoff*, President of the Chamber, and the Privy Referendary *Pfingsten*. They were sent in *August* to *Novogrodeck*, with full instructions to seek the King of *Sweden*, and enter into a treaty of peace with him.

These instructions contained three principal articles. First, That in case the King of *Sweden* would not hazard an entry into *Saxony*, but remained still on the frontier, the commissaries might take advantage thereof, and propose conditions more advantageous to their master ; but in case the Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild*, with King *Stanislaus*, had already entered into the country, they should instantly seek out the King of *Sweden*, and begin the treaty on such conditions as he should think fit, even, by an absolute cession of the crown to King *Stanislaus* ; and this they were to submit to, if, which was the third circumstance, the King of *Sweden* should at their arrival enter upon the Electorate.

1706.

King *Augustus* at the same time sent advice by a courier, to the regency of *Dresden*, of the negotiation which he was bringing on the tapis. This occasioned the regency to send a trumpet to his *Swedish* Majesty, who was entered into *Silesia*, with this news, and to demand of him a passport for the Commissaries, who were now sent in quest of him.

No answer was given to this message, before *Pfingsten* was himself arrived at *Glogau* in *Silesia*, whence he dispatched a drum, with King *Augustus's* letter to the King of *Sweden* in his camp. It was written with the King's own hand, who testified an ardent desire to recover the friendship of the King of *Sweden*, and to strike up a treaty of peace with him, on such conditions as he himself should think reasonable and agreeable to his inclination.

The Chancery expedited for this purpose the necessary passports for the Commissaries *Imhoff* and *Pfingsten*, who received immediate orders to proceed to meet his Majesty.

As *Saxony* was ignorant of all that was on the tapis to these purposes ; and on the other side, her inhabitants could no longer doubt of the march and approach of the King, their spirits were seized by such a panic, that they betook themselves to a general flight, abandoning their towns, their villages, and estates, each individual endeavouring to carry away and save what they had.

It was remarked at this time, that the carriers received two tons of gold, or twenty thousand crowns, for conveying away those effects which were withdrawn from *Leipsic* only ; and though no more than 1 *d.* per hundred weight be paid at the ballance in this town, the sum arising from

from the great quantity of goods which were weighed, amounted to upwards of two thousand crowns. 1706.

The Queen of Poland, with her Royal Highness the King's Mother, and the Prince Electoral, departed likewise from Saxony, with a great number of the noble families of the country. The Queen went to her father, the Margrave of *Bareuth* and *Culmbach*; the Prince Electoral, with her Royal Highness, retired to *Magdeburgh*, thence to *Hamborough*, and so to *Rendsborough* in *Holstein*. As to the moveables of value, they were transported for safety to the castle of *Königstein*.

To restore the spirits of the people, and deliver them from that panic which had seized them, the King of Sweden caused a declaration to be published, in favour of the Electoral inhabitants of Saxony. The tenure of which follows.

"We, Charles, by the grace of God, King
 "of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, &c. do
 "make known, that, whereas we have thought
 "proper to enter into Saxony with our forces,
 "endeavouring to stifle entirely a most unjust
 "war, which that country had raised and fo-
 "mented, we might with great reason have
 "retaliated that treatment, which their Elector
 "King *Augustus* had in the beginning of the
 "war shewn to our provinces and frontiers.
 "Notwithstanding which, we have thought fit,
 "for certain reasons, to forget our just resent-
 "ments, and kindly to signify by these letters
 "patents to the estates and inhabitants of the
 "Electorate of Saxony, of whatever quality
 "they be, that all such as shall remain in their
 "houses

1706. " houses and dwellings, without sending away
 " their effects, and who shall voluntarily and
 " without opposition contribute what may be
 " exacted of them for the entertainment and sub-
 " sistance of our troops, shall not only be taken
 " under our royal care and protection, but shall
 " enjoy the most perfect security in their per-
 " sons, families, goods, houses, lands and ef-
 " fects, nor shall any of our officers or soldiers
 " offer either to their persons or properties any
 " injury or violence whatever. On the con-
 " trary, those who shall put themselves in a
 " posture of defence, who shall abandon their
 " houses and dwellings, and remove their
 " goods and valuable effects, either hiding or
 " burying them; likewise, those who shall re-
 " volt against the imposts laid on by our com-
 " missaries or officers, or who shall refuse to
 " execute that which is ordered them, of what-
 " ever degree or condition they may be, shall
 " not only be cast from our grace, but treated
 " as enemies without any reserve, and with the
 " utmost rigour, wherever they or their effects
 " can be found, and they shall be pursued and
 " punished by fire and sword. In consequence
 " of which, we have signed these presents with
 " our hand, and sealed them with our royal
 " seal."

Given at our head-quarters at Krummenolse,
 Sept. 5. 1706.

CHARLES.

and under,

CHARLES PIPER.

The

The King, after this gracious declaration, departed from *Krummenolse*, and entered the *Higber Luface* in his way to *Saxony*. He marched by the towns of *Greyffenberg* and *Narkliffa* near *Schonberg*, (three leagues and a half) where the army rested one day. Here, having learnt that some *Saxon* troops posted in the *Lower Luface*, by which road they had expected his Majesty to pass, had marched thrice to the *Higber*, in order to observe the motions of our army, he detached Colonel *Gortz*, who had formerly served in the *Saxon* troops, with two hundred and fifty dragoons, and some *Valoches*, in quest of them.

From *Schonberg*, the army marched to the village of *Markersdorff*, (two leagues) which stands half a league from the town of *Gorlitz*, and on the morrow, arrived at *Boschitz*, (three leagues) which is but half a league from the town of *Bautzen*. On these two towns contributions were raised.

Septemb. 1. The King marched by *Bautzen* to *Bischoffswerde*, (2 leagues and an half). At his arrival Col. *Gortz* returned with his party, and reported that he had a brisk rencounter with two *Saxon* regiments, each consisting of six hundred horse, whereof ninety were left dead on the place, and more than a hundred wounded; that he had twice run through with his own hand Major-General *Jordan*, their commander, so that he with great difficulty escaped with those wounds, of which he died the next day; that we had only one inferior officer and some dragoons killed, and Captain *Ehrenpreys* mortally wounded.

1706. At *Bischoffswerd* arrived *Messieurs Imhoff* and *Pfingsten*, the Commissaries of King *Augustus*. As this negotiation was to be carried on with great secrecy, their master being then in *Poland* at the mercy of the *Muscovites*, from whom it was desired to conceal it with all possible caution, lest this Prince should be exposed to the vengeance of his ally; they had not audience of the King, but made their declaration only to Count *Piper*, under pretence that the only end of their voyage was to beseech his Majesty to spare the country, and to regulate the contributions. It was likewise insinuated, that it was with this view that the trumpet and drum had been sent from the Queen and the Regency of *Dresden*.

The conferences were very secretly held at Count *Piper's*, but the partition of the kingdom of *Poland* between King *Augustus* and King *Stanislaus* being proposed on the part of *Augustus*, the Count absolutely refused to accept this proposition, and assured the Commissaries, that the King of *Sweden* would never make peace on any lower terms than that the following articles (which that Prince himself dictated to Count *Piper*, and were by him reduced to writing) should be the basis and foundation of the treaty.

1. That King *Augustus* should renounce the crown of *Poland* for ever; that he should recognize K. *Stanislaus* for the lawful King of *Poland*, and should promise never to think of remounting the throne even after the death of *Stanislaus*.

2. That he should renounce all other treaties, and particularly those made with *Muscovy*.

3. That

“ 3. That he should send home with honour 1706.
 “ the Princes *Sobieſki*, and all thoſe priſoners he
 “ had been able to take.

“ 4. That he ſhould deliver all the deſerters,
 “ who had paſſed over to his ſervice, and
 “ namely, *Rheinbold Patkul*; and ſhould for-
 “ bear all proceedings againſt thoſe who had
 “ deſerted from his ſervice to the King of
 “ *Sweden*.”

Theſe were the conditions on which Count *Piper* was charged to negotiate with the Plenipotentiaries of King *Auguſtus*; who, ſeeing the impoſſibility of bending the King of *Sweden*, and of ſoftning the article which related to the renunciation of the crown, conſented at laſt to what was demanded of them, ſo that the greateſt part of the articles of peace, and other points thereon depending, were almoſt entirely regulated at *Biſchoffswerd*.

The King of *Sweden* departed the 3d from *Biſchoffswerd*, and marched two leagues for *Radeberg*, where Major-General *Meyerfeld* was detached with three regiments to march on the other ſide of *Dreſden* towards *Pirna*, and the caſtle of *Sonnenſtein*.

His Maſteſty decamped the next day, and poſted himſelf in the vineyards under the town, at half a league from *Meiſſen* near *Weinbybl*, (three leagues and a half) ſo that he ſeemed to have a deſign on *Dreſden*, of which however the King gave over all thoughts as ſoon as the face of affairs began to be changed.

Baron *Printz*, Miniſter of *Pruſſia*, arrived this day in the King's camp, to congratulate his Maſteſty on his arrival in the neighbourhood of *Pruſſia*, offering at the ſame time the mediation

1706. of his master between his *Swedish* Majesty and King *Augustus*. He was answered, that this mediation would not be disagreeable to his Majesty if there was any occasion for it. Baron *Grove*, the *Hannoverian* Minister, came with Mr, *Printz*, with the same compliment to the King.

The 5th, the army marched thro' the town of *Meissen*. Here the cavalry passed the *Elbe* at a ford, the water being then very low, the infantry and baggage filing over the bridge. Hence the King advanced a league to *Zberen*, a little village situated on the *Elbe*, with hills on one side, and vineyards on the other. He took up his quarters here one whole day, which time he employed in sending out his orders to the Circle or Marquisate of *Misnia*, to contribute two thousand crowns.

As soon as his Majesty had past the *Elbe*, the garrisons of *Leipsic* and *Wittenberg*, together with the troops which had been posted in *Lusace*, began to retreat. This gave a sensible pleasure to the villages where those garrisons had greatly incommoded the university as well as the trade.

The town of *Leipsic* presently sent deputies to the King, who was encamped at *Zberen*, submitting themselves to this Prince, and imploring him to protect their commerce, and not burthen them with a garrison. These their requests were granted, by a declaration published within a few days, and which was dated from the quarters at *Tauchsa*, Sept. 10. so that the great fair was held at *Leipsic* as usual, the merchants repairing thither with perfect safety, nor did the *Swedish* soldiers dare to give them the least trouble or molestation.

From

From *Zberen*, the army advanced six leagues to the town of *Grimm*. The King having received advice that the *Saxon* troops, which had retreated, were not far off, he took nine hundred and fifty horse, and all the *Valoches* to the number of five hundred, and being followed by Prince *Wurtemberg*, put himself in pursuit of the enemy. The *Valoches*, who were in the van of this party, fell, near *Wiessefels*, on their rear-guard, of which they killed several, taking prisoners one Captain, one Lieutenant, and thirty-four soldiers. The Colonel of the *Valoches* had the misfortune to be killed in this rencounter.

This blow disheartened the enemy, who, fearing least worse might follow, betook themselves to flight. The *Russians*, with some regiments of the *Saxons*, made a hasty march towards *Naumburg* and *Erfurt*, being pursued all the way by the *Swedes*.

The King followed the pursuit no farther than one league beyond *Naumburg*, whence he returned by the same road with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*. In the mean while he ordered Colonel *Gortz* not to quit the pursuit till he came up with the enemy.

During the King's absence, the army, which was ordered to decamp, left *Grimm*, and marched strait on to *Leipsic*. General *Gyllenkrook*, quarter-master, with all the other quarter-masters of the army, being, with fifty dragoons, in the van, posted themselves, on their arrival, in the market-place. The magistrates were immediately assembled to consult on the distribution of the army in the neighbourhood of the town,

As

1706. As there was still a garrison of two hundred men of the country militia in the castle of *Pleissenburg*, not under the command of the town, *Gyllenkrook* summoned them to surrender. The commandant made a feint of resistance, for form-sake only; but seeing no hope of succour, he rendered himself prisoner, together with all those under him. The King, a few days afterwards, set him at liberty, and gave the soldiers leave to go home.

The regiments betook themselves to those quarters which were assigned them. The headquarters were settled at *Taucha*, a little town one league from *Leipfic*, belonging to a magistrate of that place. Here the King staid one day, in which he gave audience to the Envoys from the courts of *Saxony* and other Princes, and some deputies of the Circle of the Electorate.

The King thinking proper to change his quarters, and being unwilling to lodge in a town, he chose a Gentleman's country-seat, named *Alt-Ranstadt*, one league and a half from *Leipfic*, where *Gustavus Adolphus* had quartered in 1632, at the time of the battle of *Lutzen*, which is a town just by *Alt-Ranstadt*. His Majesty found himself more commodiously lodged here than at *Taucha*, and this engaged him to fix his abode here all the time he remained in *Saxony*.

The rest of the army, which followed, was cantoned in several cities and towns of the country all round *Alt-Ranstadt*. Major-General *Meyerfeld*, who, with his troops, had passed the *Elbe* above *Dresden*, received orders to approach this city, and to shut it up on all sides.

Colonel

Colonel Gortz, of whom we spoke above, 1706. gave a brisk pursuit to the *Saxon* troops on the road to *Erfurt*; and, as this city refused to receive them, General *Schulenburg*, their commander, was obliged to proceed farther to the city of *Ilmenau*, near the wood of *Thuring*, where being arrived, he placed the cavalry and baggage in the front, and stood himself with the infantry in the rear.

Gortz, at his first arrival at *Ilmenau*, fell in with some *Saxon* guards, whom he drove back, and pursued to the wood, in which, having advanced two leagues on the road to *Coburg*, he met the *Muscovites*, who, by throwing down trees, had so barricaded the road, which is strait enough of itself, that it was impossible to advance two a-breast.

Notwithstanding this obstacle, Gortz dismounted his first squadron of dragoons, who attacked the enemy with all imaginable fierceness, but were unfortunately repulsed, and that with so much vigour, that many of them lost their lives; two Captains were killed, and a third mortally wounded.

Gortz not judging it proper to push the attack any farther on that side, by which many brave men must be exposed to perish without procuring any advantage, turned another way, hoping to find out a winding, by the assistance of which he might fall on the enemy. He met a peasant, who for a small reward conducted him another way through the wood, leaving behind him two hundred horse to observe the enemy. Scarce had he marched an hour, before he saw a *French* battalion in full march. He immediately attacked them with his dragoons, who were again obliged to dismount. The

French

1706. *French* defended themselves so bravely, that *Gortz* judging it necessary to surround them, as the only way to compel them to yield, detached two Captains of the horse-guards, with their troops, to come at them in the rear. These Captains, one of whom was named *Torn-flycht*, brother-in-law to Count *Piper*, having executed their orders, dismounted their party, and attacked the enemy, who was now surrounded on all sides. The *French*, nevertheless, stood their ground a full hour, and then, throwing down their arms, they ran with all the speed they were able across the wood, leaving eighty dead on the spot, and fifty prisoners.

Schulenburg made good use of this interval to save the rest of his troops, for the wood being extremely large, he had no opportunity of joining his forces, and besides, his men were all separated in platoons, and making the best of their way to avoid the pursuit of the *Swedes*.

Gortz, who saw how useless it would be to advance any farther, returned with his detachment, and some days after rejoined the army. As to *Schulenburg*, he took the road of *Rhin* with his troops, and the broken remains of that gallant *Saxon* army. These troops were to be employed against *France* as the quota of the Electorate of *Saxony*.

After the King's arrival at *Alt-Ranstadt*, this Prince, being desirous of seeing the field of battle near *Lutzen*, where *Gustavus Adolphus* so gloriously lost his life for the liberty of *Germany*, went to the place, with few attendants, taking with him two very antient Burgeses, who, by tradition from their fathers, were acquainted with the particulars of that famous day.

The Prince ran over with the most curious eye all the little eminences, the defiles, and the fosses : he likewise well recollected all that he had read thereof in history, on which he discoursed a long time with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, the Counts of *Rheinschild*, *Nierath*, and others of his train, to whom he recounted the order and the names of the regiments which engaged on the one side and on the other. At length he finished, saying to them in a most affecting manner : *We have always endeavoured to copy our life from him ; perhaps, God may likewise grant us the blessing of dying in the same manner.*

All this time, the negotiations for peace went on, and though it was necessary to take all measures for concealing it from the Ministers, and those who examined into every thing, there was however no neglect of regulating all the principal points, as well as those which were already concerted at *Bischoffswerde*. Secretary *Cederbielm* made frequent voyages to *Dresden*, to communicate to the Regency whatever came on the carpet on this occasion.

The peace was signed on the part of the King of *Sweden* by Count *Piper*, Senator of the King, and Great-Marshal of his court; and by *Hermelin* Secretary of State : and on the part of King *Augustus*, it was signed by Baron *Imhoff* and Sr. *Pfingsten*.

The treaty could not, however, be yet sent to King *Augustus*, because as the renunciation of the crown by this Prince was specified therein, King *Stanislaus* had naturally so much concern in the treaty, that it was fit to communicate it to him. Mr. *Cederbielm* was therefore dispatched for that purpose to *Meissen*, where that

1706. that Prince then was, he was likewise to demand of him what articles concerning *Poland* he designed should be inserted in the treaty.

When all matters were regulated with the *Saxon* Ministers, the treaty was engrossed and signed on the part of King *Stanislaus*, by Count *Jablonski*, Palatine of *Russia*, and uncle on the mother's side to this Prince; and by the Count of *Sapieha*, Marshal of *Lithuania*, who both repaired to *Leipsic* on that account.

This negotiation was so secretly transacted, that the court itself had not the least intimation of it. Thus was the peace concluded to the glory and satisfaction of his Majesty, after a war no less just than long and bloody. Here follows the treaty as it was translated into *French* from the *Latin*.

In the name of the Holy Trinity.

“ **A** Bloody war hath been kindled, during
 “ the time that the most high, most ex-
 “ cellent, and most puissant Prince *Frederic*
 “ *Augustus*, King and Elector of *Saxony*, held
 “ the scepter of *Poland*, which hath disturbed
 “ and in seven years already rendered desolate
 “ not only the kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Pol-*
 “ *land*, but also the Electorate of *Saxony*; and
 “ whereas, during the course of this war, such
 “ a revolution hath been brought about, that the
 “ republic of *Poland*, after a division, hath e-
 “ lected for her King the most high, most ex-
 “ cellent, and most puissant Prince *Stanislaus* I.
 “ and to support him in the throne, has entered
 “ into an alliance with the most high, most
 “ excellent, and most puissant *Charles* XII.
 “ King

“ King of *Sweden*, by which the war seemed to 1706.
 “ gather fresh force, and to spread itself wider
 “ abroad; but it hath fallen out, nevertheless,
 “ by the divine bounty, that the several parties
 “ being touched with a sincere desire to extin-
 “ guish by a peace the dreadful flame of so
 “ cruel a war, have concurred with an equal
 “ ardor; insomuch that the Plenipotentiaries
 “ have been named for a treaty on the one
 “ part and on the other; namely, on the part
 “ of the King of *Sweden*, the *Sieur John Sta-*
 “ *nislau*, Count *Jablonski*, Palatine and Gene-
 “ ral of the *Palatinate of Russia*, and *Sieur*
 “ *Alexander Paul*, Count of *Sapieha*, and Great
 “ Marshal of the dutchy of *Lithuania*: And
 “ on the part of the King and Elector of *Sax-*
 “ *ony*, the *Sieur Anthony Albrecht*, Baron *Im-*
 “ *hoff*, Privy-Counsellor and President of the
 “ Chamber, and the *Sieur George Ernest*
 “ *Pfingsten*, Referendary of the Privy-Council.
 “ These Plenipotentiaries being assembled in the
 “ King of *Sweden*’s camp, having made an
 “ exchange of their powers, are at length, by
 “ the grace of God, arrived at the so long
 “ wished for purpose of re-establishing peace
 “ and reciprocal friendship on the following
 “ condition.

“ I. There shall be a perpetual peace and
 “ sincere friendship between the most high,
 “ most excellent, and most puissant *Charles XII.*
 “ by the grace of God King of the *Swedes*,
 “ the *Goths* and *Vandals*, Great Prince of *Fin-*
 “ *land*, Duke of *Scania*, *Estonia*, *Livonia*,
 “ *Carelia*, *Bremen*, *Vandalia*, Prince of *Rugen*,
 “ Lord of *Ingria* and *Wismar*, Count-Palatine
 “ of the *Rhine*, Duke of *Bavaria*, *Juliers*,
 “ *Cleves*,

1706. " *Cleves, and Bergues, &c. &c.* and the King's
 " successors, the kingdom of *Sweden*, her e-
 " states and provinces: And also between the
 " ally of his said Majesty, the most high,
 " most excellent, and most puissant Prince
 " *Stanislaus I.* by the grace of God King of
 " *Poland*, Great Duke of *Lituania, Russia,*
 " *Prussia, Masovia, Samogitia, Kiovia, Volbi-*
 " *nia, Podolia, Podlacia, Livonia, Smolensko,*
 " *Severia, Czernikovia, &c. &c. &c.* and his
 " successors Kings of *Poland* and Great Dukes
 " of *Lituania*, their estates and provinces of
 " the one part; and of the other, between the
 " most high, most excellent, and most puissant
 " Prince *Frederic Augustus*, by the grace of
 " God, King, Duke Hereditary of *Saxony*,
 " Arch-Marshal and Elector of the holy Em-
 " pire, Landgrave of *Thuring*, Marquis of
 " *Misna*, and of the *Upper and Lower Lusace,*
 " *Bourg-Grave of Magdebourg, &c. &c.* and
 " his heirs and successors. In consequence
 " whereof, they shall cause all hostilities to
 " cease between them, and do promise neither
 " by themselves or others, secretly nor openly,
 " directly nor indirectly, to do any thing to
 " the prejudice one of the other, to give no as-
 " sistance the one against the other, on any pre-
 " tence whatsoever, nor to conclude a treaty
 " with any other powers contrary to the pur-
 " port of this, but rather to search after and
 " henceforwards to execute whatever may con-
 " tribute to their mutual honour and advantage,
 " and to the entertaining a mutual intelligence
 " and faithful amity between them.
 " II. There shall be likewise an eternal ob-
 " ligation of all damages sustained on the one
 " part or on the other, by reason of this war;
 " info-

“ inſomuch that there may be no kind of reſent- 1706.
“ ment of any thing paſt, either by word or
“ action, nor on the pretence of right, nor
“ ſhall any ſatisfaction be demanded by one or
“ the other, for the expences of the war, or
“ any loſſes occaſioned by it.

“ §. I. No individual ſhall be permitted to
“ commence any action for the goods conſiſ-
“ cated during the war, ſaving nevertheless the
“ content of the ſixth article of this treaty.

“ III. And that this dreadful war may be
“ utterly determined, the moſt ſerene Prince
“ *Frederic Auguſtus*, King and Elector of
“ *Saxony*, out of the love he bears his coun-
“ try, renounces from this time forth for ever
“ the crown of *Poland*, and all rights and
“ pretenſions to that kingdom, the dutchy of
“ *Lithuania*, and the provinces thereon de-
“ pending; declaring moreover, and ſolemnly
“ recognizing, by virtue of this tranſaction,
“ the moſt ſerene Prince *Stanislaus I.*, to be true
“ and lawful King of *Poland*, and Great Duke
“ of *Lithuania*, in ſuch manner, that he will
“ not either in the life of the ſaid King, nor
“ after his death, form any pretenſion to the
“ ſaid kingdom, Great Dutchy, and provinces
“ thereon depending.

“ §. I. But it is agreed, that the moſt ſerene
“ King and Elector of *Saxony* may retain, du-
“ ring his life, the title and honours of King,
“ provided, nevertheless, that he do not aſcribe
“ to himſelf the arms or title of the King of
“ *Poland*.

“ IV. The moſt ſerene King and Elector
“ promiſes, over and above, to notify this ab-
“ dication to the eſtates of the Republic of *Po-*
“ *land* by a diploma in a proper form, which
“ ſhall

1706. “ shall be remitted to the hands of the most
 “ serene King of *Sweden*, within the space of
 “ six weeks, to be counted from the day of
 “ signing this treaty. Absolving in the mean
 “ time, and discharging from this present hour,
 “ and by virtue of this convention, as well the
 “ said estates in general, as every inhabitant of
 “ *Poland* and *Lituania* in particular, from
 “ their oath of fealty by which they have been
 “ hitherto bound to him, and permitting them
 “ to pass under the obedience of King *Stanislaus*.

“ §. I. Promising likewise to maintain no
 “ private or public quarrel with them, nor to
 “ receive, assist, or protect any among them
 “ who shall have already refused, or may here-
 “ after maliciously refuse to submit themselves
 “ to their new King ; and to conspire nor en-
 “ terprize any thing with them or any others,
 “ contrary to the tenor of this treaty, or in pre-
 “ judice of the most serene King *Stanislaus* and
 “ and the Republic of *Poland*.

“ V. Renouncing moreover all treaties which
 “ may have subsisted between himself and many
 “ other powers, against the most serene Kings
 “ and kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Poland*, and
 “ particularly those which have been entered
 “ into with the Czar of *Muscovy*, against the
 “ said Kings and kingdoms, either before or
 “ during the war.

“ §. I. He will not send any succours to the
 “ said Czar of *Muscovy*, but will recal all those
 “ *Saxons*, with whom he had formerly fur-
 “ nished him, and who yet remain in his
 “ service.

“ VI. He

“ VI. He quashes and annuls all those decrees and statutes vulgarly called *Lauda*, and particularly those made in the diet of *Warsavia*, in the assemblies of *Mariembourg*, *Tborn*, *Elbing*, *Javarovia*, *Sendomir*, *Cracovia*, *Bretz*, *Olcbinia*, *Grodno*, and others, as also in the diet of *Lublin*, inasmuch as they are found contrary to the present treaty; and moreover, all the confiscations of goods, privations of charges, arrears and sentences of contumacy pronounced since the 5th of *February* 1704.

“ §. 1. It shall be lawful for the most serene King of *Poland* to remove from or continue in their offices and dignities, as well ecclesiastical as secular, all those whom the most serene King and Elector hath promoted to the same since the said day.

“ VII. The crowns of *Poland* and other ensigns of royalty, together with the archives of the kingdom, which have been transported to *Saxony*, with the jewels and other ornaments of the crown, shall be delivered to the King immediately after the ratification of this peace.

“ VIII. At the same time the Princes *James* and *Constantine* shall be set at liberty, and escorted in a decent manner to the camp of the King of *Sweden*, they having first promised in writing, not to take any vengeance for what they have suffered during the war and their detention.

“ §. 1. The serene King and Elector promises to pay to Prince *James* the sum which he owes him on his bond, and to cause it immediately to be paid.

1706. “ IX. The *Poles* and *Lithuanians*, of what
 “ ever quality or condition, who have been
 “ carried into *Saxony*, and are by order of the
 “ most serene King confined either there or in
 “ any other place, shall be likewise set at li-
 “ berty. The most serene King and Elector
 “ promises to employ his good offices with the
 “ Pope, to obtain as soon as possible the en-
 “ largement of the Bishop of *Poznań*.

“ X. All the *Swedes*, of whatever quality or
 “ condition, who have been taken prisoners
 “ during the war, and are in the power of the
 “ said King and Elector, shall be released with-
 “ out ransom ; and his *Swedish* Majesty shall
 “ release at the same time, without ransom,
 “ also as many of the *Saxons*, and all the Ge-
 “ nerals and Officers of war ; but as to the sur-
 “ plus of the common soldiers, his Majesty
 “ shall be at liberty to retain them, and employ
 “ them in his own troops in like manner with
 “ those who have already enlisted themselves in
 “ his service.

“ §. 1. Such officers of either party, who
 “ shall have incurred debts during their capti-
 “ vity, shall not be discharged till they have
 “ first paid or given security for the same.

“ XI. All deserters from and traitors to the
 “ King of *Sweden*, who shall be found in *Sax-
 ony*, whether *Swedes* or natives of the provin-
 “ ces under the *Swedish* dominion, shall be de-
 “ livered up to his *Swedish* Majesty, and par-
 “ ticularly *John Reinboldt Patkul*, who, in the
 “ interval, shall be kept close prisoner.

“ XII. Moreover, all the *Muscovite* soldiers,
 “ who are now in the Electorate of *Saxony*,
 “ shall be delivered into the power of his *Swe-
 dish* Majesty as prisoners of war.

“ XIII. All

“ XIII. All military implements, as co- 1706.

lours, kettle-drums, cannons, and all other things of the like nature, which have been taken from the *Swedes*, and may be used as trophies, shall be brought back and restored without any excuse or chicanery.

“ XIV. And whereas Colonel *Gortz*, whom his *Swedish* Majesty hath received into his service, hath, during his absence, and without being heard in his defence, been stigmatized with an infamous sentence, this shall be totally taken off as if it never had been, without any detriment to his honour or reputation.

“ XV. As the distance of places requires some time to the ratification of this peace, and also to obtain the guarantees under-mentioned, his *Swedish* Majesty shall be permitted to put his troops into winter-quarters within the Electorate, and the provinces thereto belonging, and to exact subsistence for them. The *Saxon* troops, however, which remain in the country, shall have certain precincts allotted them for their subsistence, and those which are in *Poland* shall have quarters assigned them separate from the *Swedish* troops, in which they shall live peaceably and without plunder, till the departure of the *Swedes* from *Saxony*, after which they may return into that country.

“ XVI. The towns and castles of *Cracovia* and *Tikozin* shall be in the mean time evacuated, together with all the other fortified places where there are *Saxon* garrisons, and be yielded up with all the cannon and warlike stores which are at present in them, to such persons as the King of *Poland* shall appoint to receive them.

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“ XVII. And

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“ XVII. And whereas, besides the city of
 “ *Leipsic* already surrendered, that of *Wittenberg*
 “ hath likewise received a *Swedish* garrison, to
 “ remain till the time of the execution of the
 “ peace, it is agreed, that immediately after
 “ the execution thereof, the same places shall
 “ be evacuated and reduced to their former
 “ estate, and that the *Swedish* army shall leave
 “ *Saxony* within a stated time.

“ XVIII. Hostilities shall cease in *Saxony*,
 “ and all the Electoral lands, from the day of
 “ signing the present treaty; and in *Poland* and
 “ *Lithuania*, as soon as an account of the peace
 “ can be carried to those two armies, to which
 “ purpose three weeks are judged sufficient.

“ XIX. It is specifically agreed, that the
 “ most serene King of *Sweden*, and the most
 “ serene King and Elector of *Saxony*, as mem-
 “ bers of the empire, shall protect the religion
 “ established by the peace of *Westphalia*, and
 “ shall likewise act in concert in all other af-
 “ fairs of the empire; and that the estates and
 “ inhabitants of *Saxony* and of *Lusace* may be
 “ the better assured of the conservation of the
 “ true Evangelic religion among them, the King
 “ and Elector, at the instances of the King of
 “ *Sweden* as guarantee of the said peace, pro-
 “ mises for himself and his successors, Electors
 “ of *Saxony*, never to introduce or admit any
 “ change with respect to the true Evangelic re-
 “ ligion, nor to permit the Catholics ever to
 “ erect there any church, school, academy,
 “ college or monastery.

“ XX. If the serene King and Elector of
 “ *Saxony* should be attacked by reason of this
 “ treaty, whether by the Czar of *Muscovy* or
 “ any other power, the King and Elector shall be
 “ assisted by the King of *Sweden* and the
 “ Emperor, and all the other Princes of the
 “ Empire, as prisoners of war.

“ XIII. All

“ any other, the most serene Kings of *Sweden* 1706.
 “ and *Poland* will come to his assistance.

“ §. 1. They promise likewise, that when
 “ they shall conclude a peace with the said
 “ Czar, they will take care to procure to the
 “ said King and Elector a just satisfaction on
 “ all his rightful demands.

“ XXI. The most serene contracting Kings
 “ and Princes do promise to execute and ob-
 “ serve with inviolable faith the contents of this
 “ treaty in all its points, clauses and articles ;
 “ but to render it more firm and stable, the
 “ King and Elector of *Saxony* engages to de-
 “ mand the guaranty of their Imperial and
 “ *Britannic* Majesties, and of the States-
 “ General of the United-Provinces, and to
 “ furnish the instruments in a proper form,
 “ if he can, within the space of six months,
 “ to be counted from the day of the signing
 “ the present treaty ; and the King of *Sweden*
 “ shall have liberty likewise, over and above
 “ the said guarantees, to procure also those of
 “ other Princes.

“ And lastly, This treaty, whereof dupli-
 “ cates have been signed, shall be ratified in
 “ the most binding form, by each of the con-
 “ tracting parties, within six weeeeks after the
 “ signing ; provided always, that in counter-
 “ part to one single ratification of the King of
 “ *Sweden*, and one other on the part of the
 “ King of *Poland*, two copies shall be executed
 “ on the part of the King and Elector of *Sax-*
 “ *ony*, which shall be exchanged at the same
 “ time, and the day and place which shall be
 “ appointed. In witness whereof we, the Ple-
 “ nipotentiaries here-under named, have signed

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“ with

1706. " with our hands, and confirmed with our
 " seals, two instruments of the same tenor."

*Done at the village of Alt-Ranstadt, Sep-
 tember 14. 1706.*

(L. S.) C. P I P E R.

(L. S.) O. H E R M E L I N.

(L. S.) A N T H O N Y A L B R E C H T
Baron of Imhoff.

(L. S.) G E O R G E E R N E S T
 P F I N G S T E N.

Separate Article.

" Whereas, the most serene King and Elec-
 " tor of *Saxony* hath promised, by the twenty-
 " first article of the principal treaty, to pro-
 " cure the guarantees there mentioned, and it
 " may possibly happen that he may not be
 " able to obtain all, or at least within the time
 " specified, it is agreed that the treaty shall
 " not therefore remain of less force or vigour,
 " nor shall such failure in any wise derogate
 " from its validity.

" We the Plenipotentiaries named in the
 " principal treaty, do declare, that this arti-
 " cle shall be of the same force and estimati-
 " on, as if it had been inserted in the body
 " of the said treaty, and that it shall be rati-
 " fied at the same time. To which purpose
 " we have likewise signed and confirmed by
 " the

“ the seals of our arms two copies thereof of 1706.
“ the same tenor.”

*Done at the village of Alt-Ranstad, Sep-
tember 14. 1706.*

(L. S.) C. PIPER.

(L. S.) O. HERMELIN.

(L. S.) ANTHONY ALBRECHT,
Baron of Imhoff.

(L. S.) GEORGE ERNEST
PFINGSTEN.

It is very astonishing, that a negotiation of this importance, which decided in this manner the lot of an entire kingdom, could be carried on so secretly and kept so long concealed. Both parties, indeed, seem to have equal reason to prevent the disclosing it. For the King of Sweden was pleased to bring about his end without the assistance of a mediator, who would only have retarded the conclusion of a peace; besides, the success of this important affair appeared as yet uncertain enough; for the true sentiments of King *Augustus* was unknown, nor was it so sure that this Prince would submit himself to the above-written conditions, or would not rather have recourse to foreign powers, who had offered their mediation.

This Prince was, again, interested in the concealing this affair, till he could separate himself with his troops from those of the Czar, who were extremely superior to his own, and had it in their power to serve him a very unlucky turn.

As the most essential point of the treaty was to cause an entire cessation of hostilities, the
2 peace

1706. peace was no sooner signed, than the King of Sweden, with a view of keeping it a secret, caused a truce of six weeks to be proclaimed at *Alt-Ranstadt* to the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums, by the following ordinance.

CHARLES, &c.

“WE have thought good to suspend all
 “hostilities in the Electorate of *Saxony*,
 “and the country thereon depending, and to
 “consent to a truce of six weeks, we order and
 “command for that purpose all the great and
 “inferior officers of our army, and all those
 “who are anywise under military command, as
 “also to every other of our subjects, to abstain,
 “during that time, from all hostilities against
 “the Electoral country of *Saxony*, her
 “troops and subjects, and to do them no manner
 “of wrong or damage, but rather to treat
 “them favourably and amicably on all occasions;
 “enjoining them at all times to avoid holding
 “any conversation or communication with
 “the militia and troops of *Saxony*. The whole
 “to be observed under pain of the severest punishment
 “which shall be inflicted on those
 “who disobey, and on the infringers of our orders
 “and commands, to which it imports every one
 “to conform himself with perfect obedience. In
 “witness whereof we have signed these presents
 “with our hand, and have thereunto put our royal seal.”

Given at our camp at *Alt-Ranstadt*, Sept. 15. 1706.

CHARLES.

and underneath,

C. PIPER.

Sr.

Sr. *Pfingsten* prepared for his immediate departure from *Poland* with the treaty of peace, in order to bring back the ratification of the King his master. Though the King of *Sweden* gave him at the same time letters for General *Mardefelt* and *K. Stanislaus*, and also charged him with one to the Palatine of *Kiovia*, by which they were enjoined to abstain from all hostilities against the *Saxons*; this Minister was not, however, to remit them to these Generals before King *Augustus* had ratified the treaty. He was at the same time charged to regulate his voyage in such a manner, as to return in six weeks, the time stipulated in the treaty, in default of which his *Swedish* Majesty should think himself no longer bound by his engagements. These measures were taken before *Pfingsten* began his journey.

The King, who had always caused the most exact and severe discipline to be observed among his troops, gave, some days after the publication of the truce, a fresh proof of his love for order, and of his moderation, by an ordinance signed the same day with the peace, *Sept. 14. at Alt-Randstadt*, and which was communicated to all the regiments. The officers and soldiers were obliged to conform themselves in *Saxony* to the articles contained in this ordinance, under pain of incurring the most rigorous punishments.

This piece does too much honour to the King of *Sweden* to be denied a place here, and if his soldiers have sometimes run counter to his orders, this Prince has inflicted the most exemplary chastisements on them. So that *Saxony* must complain with a very ill grace, seeing that any army but our own would have made another

1706. use of the right of conquest. Here follows the ordinance I mentioned.

CHARLES, &c.

“ **W** Hereas we have graciously resolved that
 “ the great and inferior officers of our
 “ army, the soldiers and troopers should re-
 “ ceive their pay regularly every month, we
 “ ordain in consequence thereof :

“ I. That no soldier shall attempt to exact
 “ any thing in his quarters, without paying im-
 “ mediately for what he receives, excepting fo-
 “ rage, which is not to be paid for ; and we
 “ order our officers to take care that no vil-
 “ lage or any inhabitant be charged above his
 “ quota.

“ II. Since the officers and soldiers are to
 “ pay ready money for their victuals and other
 “ things necessary for their subsistence, we for-
 “ bid any of our army to invite any one what-
 “ ever to his quarter to the prejudice of his
 “ host.

“ III. The sutlers with their domesticks and
 “ horses shall exact nothing in their quarters,
 “ but shall pay ready money to their hosts for
 “ whatever they receive, as well of victuals,
 “ drink, and other things, as of forage.

“ IV. We forbid all of what condition,
 “ rank or quality soever, to exact for their own
 “ use any horses or carriages from any of the
 “ Gentry, Clergy, Citizens or Peasants, with-
 “ out paying ready money for the same ; but in
 “ case it be for our service, the officer is to take
 “ care that such carriages be restored to their
 “ owners, in the same condition they were
 “ taken

" taken from them, in default of which he 1706.
" shall be answerable for all the damage, and
" all the mischiefs which may happen.

" V. When any officer or soldier is com-
" manded on a party, he shall not insist, at his
" return, on any money from his host, on pre-
" tence of his having been absent, and that his
" quarters were for that time exempt from the
" contribution of forage.

" VI. We also particularly order, that no
" person be forced to sell or exchange his
" horses, much less that they should be wrested
" by open violence from him, or by any means
" taken without immediate payment to the
" proprietors.

" VII. It is not permitted to any officer or
" soldier to chuse such quarters as are most a-
" greeable to him, or to change them in detri-
" ment to any other, or in lieu of quarters, to
" extort some other thing under any pretence
" from the peasants or owners ; but it shall be
" lawful for the possessors to arrest the offen-
" ders, and to conduct them to the next re-
" giment.

" VIII. All hunting, as well within as
" without the woods and parks, is absolutely
" forbidden ; and all fishing with nets, as like-
" wise the gathering fruits in the gardens and
" vineyards, without instantly paying for what
" they take in this manner.

" IX. Every one is strictly charged to for-
" bear beating his host or domesticks, or doing
" them any kind of injury ; much less may
" they rob or pillage in the public and private
" roads, in the streets or inns of the towns and
" villages, or commit any other violence what-
" ever.

" X. All

1706. " X. All waste of forage is most severely
" prohibited ; those who are convicted of
" this, shall be compelled to make amends,
" and this shall be stopt out of their monthly
" pay.

" XI. The officers and soldiers are to take
" particular care not to set fire to their quarters ;
" all the mischief which shall arise thence will
" be placed to their account, and they will be
" forced to answer it.

" XII. That we may be perfectly acquaint-
" ed with the behaviour of our troops in their
" quarters, we do expressly ordain that the of-
" ficers who command our regiments, take,
" every month, or on every exchange of quar-
" ters, certificates signed and witnessed by the
" house keepers or their substitutes, the bailiffs
" and chief officers of villages, and that they
" send these certificates to our Commissary-
" General, to the end that we may be exactly
" informed of the punctual execution of this or-
" dinance ; and we strictly forbid any persons
" to extort by force such certificates as shall
" not be agreeable to truth.

" XIII. All the written evidences, acquit-
" tances, and papers which our troops deliver
" to the inhabitants of the Electorate, shall be
" written in *High-Dutch*, that they may plainly
" comprehend the meaning of the contents.

" XIV. At the same time we forbid, under
" the most severe penalties, all our forces to
" stop and obstruct the free passage of the posts,
" our pleasure being that the said posts, travel-
" lers and traders, with their merchandize,
" whether on post-horses, waggons, or other
" carriages, may freely pass and repass ; much
" less

“ less will we permit any one to search any of 1706.
 “ the posts, coaches or waggons. All travel-
 “ lers, as well by the post, as others who are
 “ on the road, shall receive all manner of suc-
 “ cour from our army, not only for their per-
 “ sons, but their domesticks, carriers, horses,
 “ waggons, money, merchandize, &c. Nor
 “ will we suffer any person whatever to lay
 “ hold of horses in the post-houses of the towns
 “ or villages, without first agreeing on the
 “ price : for we have taken all the post-masters
 “ with carriers, horses, &c. into our protec-
 “ tion, and it is our will that they be free from
 “ all quarters.

“ We farther order by these presents, that,
 “ if any one acts contrary to the above-named
 “ points, or indeed against the articles of war, the
 “ inhabitants of the country may make their re-
 “ port to the officer, who is at the head of the re-
 “ giment ; or if the offender be one of a party,
 “ then to the commander of that party ; and
 “ if they apprehend that speedy justice is not
 “ done them, let them carry their complaints
 “ to the Commissary-General, who will take
 “ care it shall be rendered to them.

“ Lastly, It is our pleasure that those who
 “ have any command in our troops, do not
 “ only pay an exact obedience themselves to
 “ this ordinance, but farther, that they are vi-
 “ gilant in obliging the soldiers and those who
 “ are under them, to live regularly, and ob-
 “ serve punctually, what we have here pre-
 “ scribed to them, on pain of incurring our
 “ displeasure, the delinquents having nothing
 “ to expect but a speedy and exemplary pu-
 “ nishment. In witness whereof we have
 “ signed

1706. "signed these presents with our hand, and
"have thereunto put our royal seal."

*Given at our camp at Alt-Ranstadt, Sep-
tember 14. 1706.*

CHARLES.

and underneath,

C. PIPER.

This excellent ordinance, which was immediately published all over *Saxony*, gave so much the greater joy, as the probity of his Majesty was known to be such, that he never broke his word. Indeed, the many exemplary punishments his Majesty had inflicted at his first entrance into the country *, in order to preserve a

* *A remark of the author.*

We will only give two examples among many, which might be alledged. At *Markersdorff* near *Gorlitz*, two soldiers of the guards had taken away by force a dish of milk curds, and wounded a child who endeavoured to resist them. The King, who passed by that moment, hearing an uproar, stopped, and having asked what was the matter, the father of the child, a peasant of the village, brought the child to the King in a very bruised and mangled condition. The King ordered the two soldiers to be arrested on the spot, and to draw lots for their lives; and he on whom

the lot fell was sentenced to be shot, which was instantly executed, notwithstanding the intercession of all the officers of the regiment, he being a very fine man.—Some days after, a dragoon of the regiment of *Duker*, having ill used his host for attempting to prevent his killing some fowls, the King coming accidentally by, and the villager making his complaints to him, his Majesty ordered him to be shot on the spot. These two executions, done in a manner at once, struck such a terror into the soldiers, that they durst not attempt any thing against the inhabitants of the country.

severe

severe discipline among his troops, who were now marching victorious into a rich and plentiful country, had given a sufficient assurance that he would not suffer the least looseness of manners or discipline to insinuate itself on their changing their situation. 1706.

The Ministers from different courts flocked together to *Alt-Ranstadt*. Besides the Barons *Printz* and *Grove*, the *Prussian* and *Hannoverian* Ministers, the Emperor sent also the Count of *Wratisslaw*. He was charged to assure his Majesty, (offering him at the same time his master's mediation) that he would do all that was possible to persuade King *Augustus* to make an absolute cession of his crown. This Minister soon departed from *Alt-Ranstadt*, very well satisfied with the gracious reception he had met with. Mess. *Haersolt* and *Robinson*, the Ministers of *Holland* and *England*, arrived here likewise successively from *Dantzic*. Baron *Jessen*, Envoy from *Denmark*, who presented nine beautiful *Danish* horses to his Majesty, arrived, at the same time, with Baron *Goertz*, Privy-Counsellor and Envoy extraordinary from the Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*. Here were also the Baron *Kettler*, Envoy from the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and his Marshal of the court, and Mr. *de Rheinburg*, Minister of the Elector of *Mayence*, not to number the several deputies of the little courts of *Saxony*, and the neighbouring provinces, who came to compliment his Majesty, and to recommend themselves to his protection.

Such was the situation of affairs in *Saxony*, when King *Augustus* marched from *Lithuania* for *Lublin* with his troops, where, having joined the *Muscovite* succours which the Czar had

1706. sent him under the command of Prince *Menzikof*, consisting of horse and dragoons to the number of twenty thousand men, he passed the *Vistula* at *Casimir*, and marched towards *Great Poland*, with an intention to give battle to General *Mardefeld*, who, as we said before, remained there with a body of the army.

Augustus was now advanced as far as the town of *Pietrekow*, when *Pfingsten* arrived with the treaty of peace signed at *Alt-Ranstadt*. This Prince instantly approved all that was contained in the treaty, and dispatched *Pfingsten* with plenary powers to expedite all instruments, and other points regarding the ratification.

It hath been pretended that *Pfingsten* did not clearly enough explain all the points of the treaty to the King his master, hoping to be able to prevail on the King of *Sweden* to soften some of the hardest matters, when that Prince perceived the ready condescension of King *Augustus* to his will. Be that as it will, King *Augustus* sent him back instantly, whether this was to gain time, or because he had no other person with him whom he would intrust, with the dispatch of the ratification.

Pfingsten returned without delay into *Saxony*; he was, at first, desirous to carry himself the letters with which he was charged to General *Mardefeld*, and the Palatine of *Kiovia*, the danger appearing the more evident, because the *Russians*, who were still advancing, had a perfect information of the weakness of the troops under *Mardefeld*, and continually press'd King *Augustus* to attack and disperse them; but having afterwards considered that it might stop him too long on the road, having a large compass to make,

make, he sent the letter another way ; this occasioned the accident which afterwards happened, *Mardefeld* not receiving the letters till the blow was over. 1706.

As *Menzikof* ceased not to solícite King *Augustus* to go in quest of the *Swedes*, this Prince was obliged, least he should give suspicion by his slowness in advancing, to march immediately with the army, hoping however that the *Swedish* General was already informed of all by the letters in question and by *Pfingsten*. However, to act on a surer foundation, and to avoid a battle with the utmost precaution, he gave the General notice under hand, by means of a person of confidence to whom he had communicated the negotiation. *Augustus* advised *Mardefeld* to retire a little, assuring him if he did, he should have nothing to apprehend. The Express was ordered to represent to him at the same time how much the *Russian* forces were superior to his own. *Mardefeld*, who was absolutely ignorant of all that had past, concerning the peace, and who had not yet seen the letters, believed that all the advice King *Augustus* gave him was only a snare which they had laid for him, and resolved to take measures directly contrary to what he was advised.

The two armies having approached each other near *Kalis*, there was no longer any possibility to avoid a battle. General *Mardefeld* was encouraged to come to blows with the enemy, by the behaviour of the *Polonese* under the Palatine of *Kiovia*, who appeared resolute to do their duty, and gave positive assurances that they would stand firm and fight to the last drop of their blood. These protestations inspired the General with a belief that he was strong enough

1706. to hazard a battle with, and to repulse the enemy.

He was posted on an advantageous ground between the two villages of *Dobresze* and *Koselnavisch*, on the road leading to *Posnania*. He had on his flank the river of *Proсна*, which winds about *Kalis*, a town but a quarter of a league distant from the field of battle.

The *Swedish* troops were ranged in the centre, in two lines, the cavalry and infantry being intermixed. These troops might amount to a few more than four thousand men, and were commanded by *Mardefeld* himself. The two wings entirely composed of *Polonese* were ranged on three lines, the right being commanded by *Kiowski*, and the left by *Sapieha*.

It was between three and four in the afternoon, on the 19th of *September*, when the battle began. The enemy, who was much superior in number, gave the right to the *Russians*, and the left to the *Saxons*. At the very first charge, our *Polonese*, after very little resistance, turned their backs and fled, one party of them retreating within a bulwark, which they had made of waggons fastened together adjoining to the river, in the rear of the battle.

The whole force of the enemy then fell on the *Swedes*, who exerted all imaginable efforts of valour, and repulsed them on several attacks. The battle having lasted till night, and the horse on all sides suffering a terrible execution, darkness caused a separation among our squadrons, who being surrounded one after the other, and having defended themselves some time, each regiment and squadron apart, they were at last all cut to pieces or taken prisoners.

The

The foot sustained the longest the redoubled attacks of the enemy, and one party, with General *Mardefeld* at their head, made so gallant a defence in the form of an hollow square, that the enemy were obliged to capitulate with them in the open field, before they could be brought to surrender. 1706.

Mardefeld was made a prisoner, after having done all that could be expected from valour or conduct. The Colonels *Gustavus Horn*, *Charles Horn*, *Marschalck*, *Muller*, and a great number of other officers, shared the same fate with their General. Major-General *Crassau* had the happiness to escape in safety with some hundred horse to *Pofnania*, after having been cut off from the rest of the troops in the dark, without any possibility of rejoining *Mardefeld*.

The *Polonese*, who were shut up in the midst of their waggons, and surrounded by the enemy, were also obliged to surrender themselves. In which number were the Palatine of *Kiovia*, the Count of *Tarlo*, with the chief officers of the *Polish* army and their wives. In the mean time, the three hundred men whom *Mardefeld* had placed as a garrison in *Kalis*, and all those who were retreated thither from the battle, were constrained to throw down their arms, a multitude of *Calmuks* and *Cossacks* having so closely shut them up, that it was impossible for them to escape.

The affairs of King *Augustus* seemed within a bare possibility of being re-established after this battle, and so much the more, as he was now master of all *Poland*, excepting *Pofnania*. It was likewise thought at first, that the siege of that place would be undertaken immediately after the victory; nay, it was even doubted

1706. whether *Swedish Pomerania* would not become the theatre of war, in order to give a powerful diversion to the King of *Sweden*.

Whatever was the intention of the *Russians* and of K. *Augustus* himself, besides the peace which was ratified of his part in all its forms, it is moreover certain, as to the first article, that the enterprize on *Poznania* was very doubtful, that town being provided with every thing necessary for its defence, and a sufficient garrison to make a stout and vigorous resistance; on the other side, King *Augustus* had only cavalry with him, the *Muscovite* infantry being as yet on the other side of the *Vistula*, in the province of *Russia*. As to the second article, which was to invade *Pomerania*, King *Augustus* had all reason to fear that the King of *Sweden*, who saw himself master of *Saxony*, would use reprisals in sacking the whole country, and entirely cutting off his retreat.

All these considerations were but too capable of destroying the joy arising from this compleat victory which King *Augustus* had obtained against his own inclination. He had yet reason to apprehend the rage of the King of *Sweden*, whose sentiments, on the news of this defeat, he could not yet divine.

Augustus determined to write to the King of *Sweden*, to excuse the necessity he was under of engaging, which he had not done, but to prevent any suspicion of the negotiation in the *Russians*. This Prince, instead of advancing farther after the battle of *Kalis*, repaired to *Warsovia*, whither he carried the prisoners with him, assigning the *Russians* quarters in *Volbinia*, to put them at a distance from his person. His *Saxon* troops marched at the same

same time towards *Cracovia*, and took up their quarters in the neighbourhood of this town. 1706.

That no one might imagine there was a treaty of peace on foot between the King of *Sweden* and King *Augustus*, the latter published a proclamation at *Warsovia*, inviting the States of the kingdom to hold a grand council, and consider of means to push on the war with vigour, forbidding any, in the mean time, to declare on the *Swedish* side, but commanding them, on the contrary, to abandon it instantly.

As soon as *Pfingsten* returned into *Saxony*, an immediate exchange was made of the ratifications. He brought with him a letter from King *Augustus* to the King of *Sweden*, purporting, *That as the loss of his affection had given him more concern than the crown of Poland had given him pleasure, the loss of this was become indifferent to him, since he had thereby regained his friendship.* With which letter the King of *Sweden* appeared so satisfied, that he answered it in the most obliging terms.

They as yet knew nothing in *Saxony* of what had happened in *Poland*; but when, soon after, the letter from General *Mardefeld* brought the disagreeable news of the defeat at *Kalis*, there was just reason to believe (supposing that he had received the King's letter by *Pfingsten*) that all was done by design, and that King *Augustus* had no intention to perform what he had so sacredly promised in the treaty of peace.

This could not fail of sensibly affecting the King of *Sweden*; surmounting, nevertheless, his passions on this occasion, as he did on all others, and without suffering the first starts of his indignation to break forth, he resolved to inform himself with the utmost exactness, before

1706. he would strike any great blow, whether an advantage had been designedly taken of the confidence with which he had acted, or whether this battle had happened by an accident; and with a temper which deserves the admiration of posterity, at a season when he could naturally suspect nothing less than fraud, he ordered Secretary *Cederhielm* to repair to the *Saxon* Commissaries, and to declare, without any wrath, to them, that if this hostility had been committed on purpose, and they hoped to reap any advantage from this victory, or if they hoped to carry on the war with better success for the future, than they had hitherto found, his Majesty signified to them, that he was ready to renounce and deliver them up their treaty of peace, the rather, that he was now entitled to demand a just satisfaction for the wrongs and the damages which his troops had sustained.

It is not to be imagined into what a consternation the Commissaries were cast by this short and precise declaration of a Prince, whose justice they admired, as much as they feared his valour. They employed all possible methods to soften his Majesty, and to excuse what had happened.

This suspicion appeared too well grounded, to give them hopes of immediately effacing it in the King's mind. In a few days however arrived the letter from King *Augustus* to *Pfingsten*, which we have before said he writ on the affair; wherein he not only testified an extreme mortification at this accident, protesting that this blow had been given contrary to his inclination, but gave assurances that he was ready to yield any satisfaction agreeable to the King of *Sweden*, if he would not be contented with this declaration.

This letter written by King *Augustus's* own hand, and shewn to the King of *Sweden*, had the desired effect; that King demanding no other satisfaction, than an immediate delivery of all the prisoners taken at *Kalis*.

To have a full assurance of the true intentions of King *Augustus*, and that he proposed a religious observance of all points of the treaty, the *Swedish* Ministers began to press strongly the execution of the conditions of the peace, one of the principal being the setting at liberty the *Polish* Princes. Many weeks passed before any thing was regulated with respect to this article, and many others, the *Saxon* Commissaries always pretending that they could undertake nothing, without an express order signed by King *Augustus* himself.

The distrust was yet augmented by reiterated advices from *Poland*, of the close friendship which subsisted between King *Augustus* and the *Russians*. These advices added, that this Prince held continual conferences with the grandees of *Poland* of his party, on the most efficacious means to push on the war briskly against the *Swedes*.

When it was represented to the *Saxon* Ministers, how much his Majesty was offended at a conduct so contrary to the strongest assurances, which King *Augustus* had given; they answered, That their master was obliged to act in this manner, to lull the *Russians* and *Poles*, and to disembarraße himself of them without any danger, that he might repair in person into *Saxony*: They added, that it was necessary to keep the peace concealed, as well as the execution of the points of the treaty, to prevent exposing their

1706. their master to the vengeance of the *Russians*, which he had great cause to apprehend.

Notwithstanding these reasons, his Majesty saw so much dissimulation in all this affair, that he resolved no longer to retard the publication of the peace; the rather, for that it had been agreed at the exchange of the ratifications, to conceal the peace no longer than eleven days after the ratification; a term which then appeared sufficient to give King *Augustus* an opportunity of securing himself from the power of his allies.

On the other side, the King of *Sweden* would not consent to amuse any longer the Ministers of so many powers who resided constantly at *Leipzig*, labouring to forward the peace, and making continual representations to his Majesty on that head; the Count *de Zinzendorff* being just arrived from *Vienna* in the room of Count *Wratislaw*, with new concessions on the part of the Emperor.

What chiefly wrought on the King was to take away by that means all opportunity from King *Augustus*, to intangle himself with any new and more dreadful intricacies, in taking fresh measures, or seeking after new pretences, to elude some points of the treaty which he had most at heart.

The peace was published four days after the exchange of the ratifications, by the Ministers of his Majesty and by letters. It caused the greater surprize, seeing no one could have imagined, that it would have been so glorious in all respects, and so advantageous for the King of *Sweden*. As to the Ministers of *Saxony*, who were at the *Hague* and other courts, they seemed ashamed to avow it, notwithstanding all that
was

was shewn to them, and which they were forced to believe against their inclinations, such precautions had been used to keep this negotiation secret.

1706.

As King *Stanislaus* was the most interested in this glorious peace, he did not delay sending an embassy to the King of Sweden; his Ambassadors being Mr. *Landsköronski* Palatine of *Cracovia*, and Mr. *Sczuka* Under-Chancellor of *Poland*, to return thanks to his Majesty for having at last procured peace and tranquillity with such advantage to King *Stanislaus*, and to the kingdom of *Poland*.

These Ambassadors delivered their speech in *Latin*, and *Hermelin*, Secretary of State, answered them on the part of his Majesty, in the same tongue. Some days after the King of Sweden sent Count *Otto Welling*, Counsellor to the King, Senator and President of the tribunal of *Abo*, with Secretary *Hermelin*, to K. *Stanislaus*, who congratulated this Prince on the compleat acquisition of the crown, in a very fine oration in *Latin*, which was answered by the Under-Chancellor *Sczuka*. The compliments of other courts arrived likewise, sooner or later, as the several powers stood better or worse affected to Sweden.

During these transactions, the King applied himself to the execution of the articles of peace, and to consulting with the States concerned, and the manner of settling the contributions towards the support of the army. He had already appointed an assembly of the estates of *Saxony*, by their deputies at *Leipsic*; and tho' the estates of the Electorate of the *Upper and Lower Lusatia*, of the County of *Mansfeld*, of the Bishopricks of *Merseburg* and *Naumburg*, were assembled in sufficient

1706. sufficient numbers, great disquietudes still continued at *Dresden*, and the Regency there were in all the commotions imaginable, to render this matter odious to the people, and to obstruct it as much as possible, or at least to bring in a treaty there, rather than permit the conferences to proceed above with the estates of the country.

A declaration was published in the name of the Regency, forbidding the deputies assembled at *Leipsic* to enter into a negotiation with the *Swedish* Commissaries, before they had spoke with Baron *Imhoff*, President of the Chamber, and had received the necessary instructions how to comport themselves on this occasion. At the same time that they endeavoured to protract the affair, by throwing these difficulties in the way, the Regency attempted, on the other side, to represent to the *Swedes*, that the Estates were very obstinate persons, who would stubbornly desist from giving any thing unless compelled by force. These intrigues succeeded so well, that the term elapsed before any regulation was perfected, the President *Imhoff* pretending himself to make propositions to the Estates. As Count *Stenbock*, Director of the Commissary-General of war, was of a contrary opinion; this diversity of sentiments prevented any conclusion, till his Majesty issued a new order to treat immediately with the estates of the Electorate, to whom they then made the four following propositions.

1. To specify what quantity of demesne lands was in the country, and how much each had paid in the two last years, as well in ordinary imposts as in extraordinary, such as the entertainment of Ambassadors, gratuities, and extraordinary expences of the militia; for the reimbursement

imbursements of interests, on these principal sums which they had levied; for the imposts on corn, such imposts as concerned the defence of the country, such as they had laid on chimneys, those of forage, of drink, and all other tributes or taxes of every kind and appellation.

2. To specify by the pecuniary edicts the manner in which each particular contribution ordinary or extraordinary had been usually levied.

3. To specify the names of the demesnes situated within the country, how much they had paid the two last years in contributions ordinary and extraordinary, and to set down at the same time the names of the ministers and officers of their several precincts, their functions, and the places of their habitation.

4. To deliver in the receipts of the diets of the country since the year 1704.

At the same time they enjoined the Bishopricks of *Merseburg* and *Naumburg* to transmit to the Commissaries an exact list of the contributions, as well ordinary as extraordinary, which the Regency of the Electorate had exacted these two last years; and lastly, to disclose by what title these two principalities were bound to pay such imposts.

The Estates of the Electorate presented their explanations, but demanded at the same time, if the chamber was to be comprised within the demesnes, saying, they could give no account thereof. As to the rest, they specified the circles of the Electorate, as those of *Thuring*, *Misnia*, *Leipsic*, *Eriz-Geburg*, or mountains where there are mines, *Voighiland*, the circle of *Neustadt*, the *Higher* and *Lower Lusace*, with all their revenues, and the sum to which they had

1706. had amounted these last years. They declared at the same time, that in the year 1704 and 1705, the country had granted $21\frac{1}{2}$ and $23\frac{1}{2}$ Quatembres, and that they had been obliged to give 24 Quatembres extraordinary, which King *Augustus* had levied through the country by military execution. They specified, moreover, all the precincts within each circle, and to whom they belonged, averring at the same time, that they had held a committee in 1704, but had not given the receipt to the Estates, and that since that time they had held neither diet nor committee. They joined at last to all this an exact list of all the payable by the country.

Count *Stenbock*, who absolutely insisted on the chamber's being comprised within the demesnes, addressed himself for that purpose to Baron *Imhoff*, who answered, that he had already delivered the whole into the *Swedish* Chancery; but this was only an evasion, with which the Count was however forced to be contented.

As to the Bishopricks of *Merseburg* and *Naumburg*, they answered, they had never done homage to the Emperor, nor contributed to his supplies; for that they were separate fiefs holding immediately of the Empire, and did not depend on the rest of *Saxony*; that they had their own Ministers and Princes elected by the chapter, to whom only they had taken an oath, and to whom, according to their laws and their customs, appertained all the imposts, and all the gratuities which were granted by their Estates, assembled by order of their Lords; that if they had paid to the Elector the third part of their gratuities drawn from their chamber,

ber, this had been done in consequence of certain conventions and treaties, and of an indemnity from all charges payable to the Emperor, which the Elector had undertaken for all the circles of *Saxony*. 1706.

President *Imhoff* had obtained permission to declare (*Sept. 30.*) to the Estates, that the pleasure of the King of *Sweden*, reported by Count *Stenbock* to the Privy-Council of *Saxony*, was, that as well for the hereditary countries antient as new, as for the Bishopricks and portion of *Schwartzburg*, and of the other fiefs of *Saxony*, there should be paid monthly six hundred and twenty-five thousand crowns, whereof one hundred and twenty-five thousand should be deducted for forage, and the rest paid in ready money.

This demand appeared at first sight exorbitant to the Estates, especially to the Bishopricks, who, besides the impossibility they foresaw of supplying it, thought it hard to be comprized within this tax, as being immediate fiefs of the Empire. They took upon them to make fresh representations, with a very humble petition, to be suffered to enjoy their separate rights and customs, as they in no sort belonged to the Electorate of *Saxony*, though the *Saxon* Princes were their governors, asserting, moreover, that they never contributed to the war in *Poland*.

The Estates, on their part, excused themselves on their incapacity to furnish so large a sum, and prevailed so far by their entreaties, that his Majesty contented himself with five hundred thousand crowns *per* month. But as they could not agree, and always hesitated at taking a sudden resolution, under pretence that
2 they

1706. they had not a freedom of acting, his Majesty irritated by all these delays, and the new obstacles which the Regency of *Saxony* continually raised, at last lost all patience, and ordered his troops to take their quarters in proportion to and to levy the contributions conformably. As the list of the imposts had been carried out of the country with the archives and public instruments, as we have said before, they were much embarrassed how to make a distribution of the quarters; several lists were laid before them, but these were not congruous. At last one was found under the cabinet seal of King *Augustus*, in which a quantity of was set down, which they had not been capable of exacting since 1628, and in which the Bishopricks, and above all *Thuring*, with many other places, were overcharged. As the King had no other list, he distributed the quarters in all the circles of *Saxony* agreeably to this, as we shall presently shew, and he caused his troops to levy contributions according to the same list.

Many complaints arose on the part of those quarters which were the most oppressed. The members of King *Augustus's* Council were obliged themselves by a declaration to avow that they were overcharged. But it was now done, and too late to be remedied; for as the troops were already entered into the quarters assigned them, and as every thing was regulated, there was no way open for an alteration, so that for each the Saxons were obliged to pay by the month four Imperial *gros*, for the months of *September, October, November, December*.

The distribution of the regiments in Saxony.

Circle of Leipsic.	{	Head-quarters, —	}	at <i>All-Ranstadt.</i>
		Dragoon-guard,		near <i>Merseburg.</i>
		Cavalry under Ma-		
		jor-General Cru-		at <i>Naumburg.</i>
		us,		
		Col. <i>Bunau</i> with a		
		party of Artil-		at <i>Pegau.</i>
		lery,		
		<i>Westrogoth</i> , infan-		at <i>Rochlitz.</i>
		try,		
	{	K. <i>Stanislaus</i> with	}	
		his court and		at <i>Leisnik.</i>
		train,		
		The <i>Dabl-Car-</i>		at <i>Grimm.</i>
		lers,		
		The heavy artil-		at <i>Mutzen.</i>
		lery,		
	{	The regiment of	}	at <i>Wurtzen.</i>
		foot-guards,		
		Regiment of horse		at <i>Tauchba.</i>
		of the Nobility,		
	{	The dragoons of	}	at <i>Dolitz.</i>
		<i>Ducker,</i>		

Circle of Thuring.	{	The regiment of	}	
		horse,		at <i>Sangerhausen</i>
	{	The <i>Valoches,</i>	}	at <i>Schulpforte.</i>

Electoral Circle.	{	Major General	}	
		<i>Buchwald's dra-</i>		at <i>Henniken.</i>
		goons,		
	{	<i>Uplanders</i> , foot,	}	at <i>Wittenberg.</i>

Circle of <i>Misnia.</i>	Colonel <i>Taube's</i>	}	at <i>Hain.</i>
	Dragoons,		
	Regiment of foot of <i>Calmar,</i>	}	at <i>Meissen.</i>
	Regiment of foot of <i>Jonkioping,</i>		at <i>Doben.</i>
	Major General <i>Meyerfeld's dra-</i>	}	at <i>Pirna.</i>
	goons,		
<i>Ertzge- burgh.</i>	<i>Smoland, horse,</i>	}	at <i>Freyberg.</i>
	<i>Sudermanland, foot,</i>		at <i>Augustsburg.</i>
	<i>Ostrogoth, foot,</i>	}	at <i>Pænik.</i>
	<i>Wesmanland, foot,</i>		at <i>Annenberg.</i>
	<i>Nerike and Werm- land, foot.</i>	}	at <i>Schneeberg.</i>
<i>Voigtland.</i>	<i>Ostrogoth, horse,</i>		at <i>Plauen.</i>
Circle of <i>Neustadt.</i>	{ <i>Nyland, horse,</i>		at <i>Neustadt.</i>
<i>Upper Lusace.</i>	Colonel <i>Hielm's</i>	}	at <i>Zittau.</i>
	Dragoons.		
	Colonel <i>Cronman's</i>	}	at <i>Kamentz.</i>
	or <i>Cronsbeg- Lebn's foot.</i>		

Those regiments, for which there was no room in the towns, were quartered in the villages and other neighbouring places.

We left King *Augustus* at *Warsovia*, making a feint to call a Grand-Council, with intent to carry on the war; but this was only a pretence to give him an opportunity of escaping from *Poland* with his *Saxon* ministers and troops. In effect, as soon as he had rid himself of the

Musco-

Muscovites in *Volbinia*, under colour of winter quarters, he suddenly quitted *Warsovia*, and hastened to *Leipsic* to Baron *Imhoff*, having left his *Saxon* troops near *Gracovia* till farther orders.

The next morning he notified his arrival to the King of *Sweden*, and set out a few hours after, at noon, with a small train, for *Guntersdorff*, where Count *Piper* was lodged, and which was but a short half league from the head-quarters, in hopes of finding the King of *Sweden* there, as he had been informed he should.

Count *Piper* immediately acquainted his Majesty, who rose on a sudden from table, mounted on horseback, and rode to the Count. King *Augustus* met him on the stairs, the King of *Sweden* prevented his descending lower, by hastening to go up. These two Monarchs embraced each other with all the marks of a perfect reconciliation and sincere friendship. After they had spent some time together in a conversation on indifferent subjects, but in a most familiar manner, they remounted their horses, being accompanied by about a hundred horsemen, most of them officers, who came to see the interview.

These two Princes proceeded to *Alt-Ranstadt*, the King of *Sweden* giving the right to King *Augustus* all the way. When they were arrived at the head-quarters, they had a conference together which lasted near three hours. After which King *Augustus*, being fatigued with his journey, retired to the bed-chamber of the King of *Sweden*, where he reposed himself a short while in a great chair till supper was served.

1706. During the supper, King *Augustus* was placed on the right, and was waited on by two Chamberlains. The King of *Sweden* being seated next him on his left. The rest of the table was filled by Count *Pflug*, Grand-Marshal of *Saxony*, who sat next to King *Augustus*; by Count *Piper*, who sat by the side of the King of *Sweden*; by Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild*; Count *Poss*; President *Imhoff*; President *Welling*; and General *Stromberg*.

After supper, which lasted not long, the King of *Sweden* conducted King *Augustus* to his bed-chamber, where after a short conversation, the King of *Sweden* retired to another apartment at the top of the house, to repose himself; twelve *Drabans*, during this time, remained on the guard before the apartment of King *Augustus*.

On the next day, the two Kings remained together till noon, when King *Augustus* returned to *Leipfic*, having first given the necessary orders for the enlargement of the Princes *Sobieki*. The King of *Sweden*, on this account, sent Major-General *Meyersfeld* and Secretary *Cederhielm* to *Dresden*, who were to receive these two Princes, first settling and reducing into writing the demands of King *Augustus* on the Princes, and those of the Princes on him.

As King *Augustus* had given orders to restore the trophies taken from the *Swedes* during the war, they were delivered in pursuance of the treaty, to General *Meyersfeld*; they consisted of three standards, and two pair of kettle-drums.

The 11th of *December*, in the forenoon, the King of *Sweden* paid a visit to King *Augustus* at *Leipfic*. Two days after which King *Augustus*

gustus came to *Alt-Ranstadt*, and returned the same day to *Leipsic*, whence he departed the next day to *Dresden*, where he spent some weeks.

These frequent visits much augmented the hopes which had been conceived of a perfect union between these two Monarchs, who were also near relations, being Cousin-Germans. A medal was struck on this occasion, which represented on one side the Gods *Mars* and *Hercules*, whereof the former was made to resemble the King of *Sweden*, the latter King *Augustus*, taking each other by the hand, in confirmation of their friendship, and trampling discord under their feet, with these words of *Virgil*, *Æn.* XII.

Cognato sanguine victa.

Conquered by his own relation.

On the *Exergue* were written these words:

Pax Sueciam inter & Poloniam facta Alt-Ranstadt, 1706. Peace made between Sweden and Poland at Alt-Ranstadt, 1706.

The reverse represented the city of *Leipsic*, where the peace had chiefly been negotiated, *Mercury* flying above proclaims peace and tranquillity to this mercantile city in these words :

Alma pax Genteis alat, ensesque lateant.

Senec. Her. Fur.

May peace nourish the nations, and swords remain in their scabbards.

On the border were these of *Virgil*, *Æn.* VIII.
v. 639.

Fidem inter se, posito certamine Reges,

— — — — — Jungebant fœdera.

The King laying aside contention made a peace and alliance.

1706.

They struck another very beautiful medal at *Stockholm*, of which that famous and learned antiquary, Assessor *Keder* was the inventor, and that great medalist *Carlsten* the maker. It represented on one side the King of *Sweden*, with these words, *Carolus XII. D. G. Rex Sueciae*: On the other was a palm-tree, on which was hung a buckler; at the foot of the tree were trophies of arms, and round this devise these words, *Nexum Fecere Triumphi, Triumphs made the union*. In one line under the palm tree were the following words, *Arma posita in Pago Alt-Ranstadt*. They laid down their arms in the village of *Alt-Ranstadt*, Sept. 14. 1706.

On the 17th, the King mounted his horse, attended by some officers, and accompanied by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who was returned from a visit he had paid to his mother at *Stuttgart*, in the company of Major-General *Cruus*. His Majesty's design was to proceed to meet King *Stanislaus*, who was coming by the road of *Leisnitz* to *Alt-Ranstadt*, with the Princes *Sobieski*, who were now released.

The King of *Sweden* had not gone more than half a league when he met the King of *Poland* and his train, who presently alighted from their coaches and mounted on horseback. At noon, they arrived at *Alt-Ranstadt*, where the two Princes *Sobieski* repeated their thanks to his *Swedish* Majesty, on having procured them their liberty, on which they were complimented by the *Swedish* Generals, the Court, and other persons of distinction.

At the table King *Stanislaus* was placed at, the upper end, on the right of the King of *Sweden*, having on his other side the two Princes *James* and *Constantine Sobieski*, and next to them Count *Jablonowski* Palatine of *Russia* and

and *Lemberg*, Count *Sapieha*, Marshal of *Lithuania*, and Count *Sapieha*, Pisart of *Lithuania*. On the King of *Sweden*'s side, sat the third Prince of *Poland*, *Alexander Sobieski*, the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, Count *Sapieha*, Grand-Treasurer of *Lithuania*, and Count *Welling*, General and Counsellor of the King. About evening King *Stanislaus* returned to *Leisnik* with his train. The Princes of *Poland* expressed the utmost satisfaction at the honours which had been done them at *Alt-Ranstadt*. 1706.

In the beginning of the year 1707, an act of the King of *Sweden*'s appeared to encrease greatly the good intelligence and friendships which reigned between the King of *Sweden* and King *Augustus*. This was his *Swedish* Majesty's remission, (on the humble and reiterated remonstrances of *Saxony*) some part of the contributions which they had at first raised. Infomuch, that for the months of *January* and *February* 1707, they demanded but three *gros*, for *March* and *April* two *gros*, and for the month of *May* one only of each for all but one million nine hundred thousand crowns payable at several times. 1707.

Though this sum seemed yet exorbitant, the Estates saw that the generosity of the King of *Sweden* who had remitted them so much, could remit them no more, on account of the vast number of troops cantoned in the Electorate.

The Estates, after having reflected on the means of enabling themselves to levy this sum, concluded at last to negotiate some part on the credit of the country. In consequence whereof they sent deputies to *Holland*; but, unhappily for them, King *Augustus* ordered them at the same time to negotiate also a sum of one million

1707. five hundred thousand crowns for himself; on which so many difficulties were made in *Holland*, that the business was there at a stand, and they would not advance the money in any manner.

When this news came to *Alt-Ranstadt*, his Majesty resolved to maintain his first resolution, according to the and to levy the contributions by his troops. On which subjects orders were sent to the Commanders and Colonels of the regiments, so that the contributions moderated by his Majesty were uniformly regulated on the

King *Augustus* seeing now the fault which he had committed, set all his engines at work to procure the direction of the levy of the imposts for this year 1707. But this project succeeded not: for his *Swedish* Majesty would have the money pass through few hands, and those of his own troops.

The *Saxons* then saw but too clearly the sensible difference between the payment of what the *Swedes* had at first demanded of the Estates assembled at *Leipsic*, at the first entrance of the King, and exposing themselves to the choice of the soldiers of what they liked best.

The city of *Leipsic* reaped considerable advantage from the neighbourhood of the King of *Sweden's* court. Being not only full of foreign ministers, who lived in a most sumptuous and expensive manner, but likewise a great number of Princes of the Empire, who came thither successively to make their court.

On the new year, the Duke of *Saxe-Gotha*, and all the Princes of the house of *Saxony*, came to pay their compliments to his Majesty at *Alt-Ranstadt*. There were likewise Duke *Christian Augustus*,

Augustus, Governor of *Holstein-Gottorp*, the Margrave of *Anspach*, the Landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt*, the Landgrave of *Hesse-Homburg*, the two Princes of *Mecklenburg*, the Hereditary Prince of *Woolffenbottle*, two Princes of *Bevern*, and many other Nobles, who being there with their families, joined to a large number of Ladies, who were, by his Majesty's permission, arrived from *Sweden*, to see their husbands, made the assemblies extremely agreeable and brilliant.

Some *Polish* Lords likewise arrived, who had been the most obstinate in refusing to recognize King *Stanislaus*. In which number were reckoned the Bishop of *Warmia*, General *Brand*, and some others.

As the King of *Sweden* desired that all the world might have a free access to see him at dinner, *Alt-Ranstadt* was every day filled with an infinite number of people, and the hall where the King dined was often so crowded, that the pages and domestics found it difficult to wait at table; the spectators, for want of room, were forced to stand upon chairs and windows, to get a sight of the King; and this continued during his whole abode in *Saxony*.

King *Augustus* had published the peace with a thanksgiving to God, on the first day of the year, in all the churches of *Saxony*. The King of *Sweden* had also caused the same to be done in his kingdom. As several pamphlets were wrote at this time in *Poland*, with an appearance of being published by the order of King *Augustus*, raising doubts concerning the peace, this Prince disavowed them publicly at *Leipfic*, by a paper which was printed and dispersed every where,

The

1707.

The King of *Sweden* went a stag-hunting the same day with King *Augustus*, but spent only a few hours in that exercise. These two Princes visited each other often, and there appeared a perfect harmony between them. As to King *Stanislaus*, he had had no interview with King *Augustus*. They met only one day at *Leipsic*, and King *Augustus's* horse making a false step at the moment they came up to each other, this Prince whipping his horse, past swiftly by King *Stanislaus*, saluting him with his hat, who, on his side, very politely returned the salute.

Whilst these things past, the *Swedish* officers were very busy in recruiting their regiments, and remounting their cavalry.

The national *Swedish* regiments received their recruits from *Sweden*, and the new regiments of dragoons raised in *Prussia*, as we have noted before, 1704, made their levies in divers places, especially at *Breslau*, and the other towns of *Silesia*, with such extraordinary success, that they were compleat in a short time, the young fellows quitting in throngs their father's houses to enter into the service of the King of *Sweden*, so that our officers had nothing to do more than to pick out the finest men.

Colonel *Gortz* having had orders in *October* last year, to raise a regiment of dragoons, he raised one of the strongest which was ever known, consisting of three thousand men, all well made, well mounted, and well drest. These, after the death of their Colonel, were divided into three regiments, as we shall see hereafter.

The Queen of *Poland*, King *Augustus's* consort, returned from *Bareith* to *Leipsic* the 25th of *January*. Three days afterwards, the Prince

Prince Electoral arrived there also, on which day the King of *Sweden* entered into *Leipsic* with King *Augustus*, who had been with him at *Alt-Ranstadt*, and made a short visit to the Queen of *Poland*. The 31st, the Prince Electoral came to *Alt-Ranstadt* to make his court to the King, who received him with much grace and distinction. This young Prince set out thence for *Lichtenburg*, where her Royal-Highness the Electress his Grandmother was arrived from *Holstein*. 1707.

All these fine hopes of friendship and confidence on all sides were on the very point of vanishing, by an unforeseen accident, which had like to have caused a new rupture.

King *Augustus* had invited the King of *Sweden* to a grand hunting of wild boars and stags, which was to be, *Feb. 7.* at *Liebenwerda*. His Majesty promised to come thither. The Prince of *Wurtemberg* was already there with several *Swedish* Generals and other courtiers and officers of distinction. But the King of *Sweden*, at the end of three days, during which he had paid a visit to the Electress his aunt, the mother of King *Augustus*, at her castle of *Lichtenburg*, where he held a conversation of three hours together with her after dinner, changed his mind all of a sudden, on some certain private whispers which came to his ear, and seemed not ill-grounded, and sent an excuse to King *Augustus*, who had expected him with impatience, by Major-General *Lagercrona*, desiring him to begin the hunting without waiting for him.

These whispers perhaps had not prevented the King of *Sweden*'s going to *Liebenwerda*, if at the same time they had not shewn him certain letters, which had been intercepted in *Poland*,
and

1707. and by which he saw with astonishment the original orders of the court of *Saxony* to their partisan *Smigelski*, to secure the Palatine of *Kiovia*, made prisoner at the battle of *Kalis*, and who was set at liberty by the treaty of peace at *Alt-Ranstadt*. He was likewise ordered to engage the *Poles*, to publish an Interregnum, to proceed to a new election, with assurances that whoever was elected should be supported.

There were likewise letters to the Czar, to his Ministers, and to the Grandees of *Poland*, by which it was plain, that King *Augustus* intended to amuse the King of *Sweden* in *Saxony*, till an opportunity presented itself to break the peace, and to shake off the yoke of the *Swedes* by the assistance of the *Russians*.

The discovery of all these intrigues joined to the above-mentioned flying reports of a plot formed against the person of the King of *Sweden*, put a stop to the journey of this Prince to *Liebenwerda*; and as certain instructions intercepted in *Saxony* contrary to the tenor of the peace were to be produced, the King of *Sweden's* friendship must of necessity cool, and so much the more, as King *Augustus* deferred every day to fulfil the rest of the points stipulated by the treaty of peace.

The court of *Saxony* endeavoured to excuse this last article, as well as it was able; but the King of *Sweden* irritated with these affected delays, together with the late discoveries, resolved at once to put an end to the affair.

Secretary *Cederhielm*, who had continued all this time at *Leipsic* to press the Ministers of *Saxony* to an entire execution of the articles of the peace, and who could obtain nothing by all his instances, was made choice of to mention
the

the matter to King *Augustus* himself. He set out for *Dresden* with orders to propose to this Prince to issue a solemn proclamation for the suppression of all writings which had been published since a certain time, and were in opposition to the peace. He was likewise charged to demand an accomplishment of all those articles which had not been yet executed, and to declare at the same time that his Majesty was only zealous to put an end to this affair for the sake of *Saxony*, which he could not quit before these matters were entirely concluded. 1707.

Cederbielm, at his arrival at *Dresden*, found King *Augustus* and all the Court on the point of departing for the grand hunting, at *Liebenwerda*, so that he could get nothing determined. He received orders, however, to attend this Prince, who gave him in the mean while the draught of an instrument for the suppression of the writings in question signed by himself, reserving the rest till the end of the hunting, which was very fine, a hundred and ninety-nine wild boars, and more than five hundred stags being killed.

What retarded most the entire execution of the treaty of peace was the article of *Patkul*, whom King *Augustus* had great reluctance to deliver up to the *Swedes*, seeing that this Prince had promised the Czar, to whom *Patkul* was General and Minister in full power at his court, never to agree to it. This very point produced so many difficulties, that though *Cederbielm* followed the court from *Liebenwerda* to *Torgau*, where the Queen of *Poland* then was, to press this affair, he could not, however, possibly obtain a final answer, and was obliged to return with nothing concluded on; his *Swedish* Majesty dispatched

1707. dispatched him instantly to *Dresden*, giving him orders not to come back till every thing was settled.

Cederbielm found, on his arrival, the whole court in a terrible alarm; the King of *Sweden*'s failing his appointment at the hunting caused very serious reflections, as he was the most religious observer of his promise; several accounts likewise arrived one after another, which gave reasons to apprehend some resentment in the King of *Sweden*, perhaps an open rupture from the jealousies which might have grown in that court on several proceedings, as liable to suspicion as those of the court of *Saxony*; what increased these fears was, that they were entirely ignorant of the true sentiments of the King of *Sweden* on these matters.

These anxieties, however, were soon dissipated, and after some eclairsisements on each side, all seemed to be forgotten, without the least spark of resentment remaining, as soon as King *Augustus* had declared that he would punctually execute all the articles of the treaty.

The article purporting the surrender of the jewels and other ornaments, and ensigns of royalty to King *Stanislaus*, was, next to that of *Patkul*, one of the most disagreeable to King *Augustus*. What retarded the execution of this was, that the King of *Sweden* adhered strictly to the letter of the treaty, that all these should be delivered to King *Stanislaus* himself, which King *Augustus* absolutely declined, desiring to deliver them into the possession of his *Swedish* Majesty. This affair was at last determined to the satisfaction of King *Augustus*, and the jewels were placed in the hands of the King of *Sweden*.

Another

Another article, which stuck much with King *Augustus*, was that by which he was to be despoiled of the arms and title of the King of *Poland*; though he might, during his life, retain the name and honours of a King. Many representations were obliged to be made to him, before he could be brought to this; for long after the exchange of the ratifications, he was continued to be prayed for in churches without any change in the forms, being there always called King of *Poland*: the same title still remained on his arms and his coin. However, this article had the fate of the others, and this Prince at last gave up the title of King of *Poland*.

One thing gave the *Swedes* some trouble, which was, that no printer in *Saxony* would print the Instrument of the peace. This gave a suspicion of a secret order from the court of *Dresden*. Our dragoons soon removed this difficulty, and set the press a going in the finest manner in the world.

All these circumstances, which were perplexing enough, occasioned a longer stay of the army in *Saxony* than was intended; for his *Swedish* Majesty, without obtaining an effectual execution of the treaty of peace, resolved by no means to quit those glorious advantages which his arms and his valour had procured him, after so many battles and victories, and the loss of so much blood.

Patkul was taken the 28th of *March* out of the fortress of *Königstein*, and being delivered to a *Swedish* detachment, was strongly guarded to the army.

The next day, King *Augustus* recognized King *Stanislaus* by the following letter which he writ to him.

S I R,

1707.

SIR, my Brother,

“WE did not answer sooner that letter
 “ which we had the honour to receive
 “ from your Majesty, because we thought
 “ there was no necessity of our entering into a
 “ particular correspondence of this kind. Ne-
 “ vertheless, to please his *Swedish* Majesty,
 “ and that it may not be imputed to us that we
 “ make a difficulty of complying with his de-
 “ mands, we congratulate your Majesty by
 “ these presents on your coming to the crown,
 “ and we wish at the same time that you may
 “ find in this country more faithful and more
 “ obedient subjects than those whom we have
 “ quitted. All the world will do us the justice
 “ to own, that all our kindneses, all our inde-
 “ fatigable cares have been repaid only with in-
 “ gratitude, and that the greatest part of them
 “ made it their whole business to form parties
 “ against us to our ruin.

“ Recommending your Majesty to the di-
 “ vine protection, we wish you may not be ex-
 “ posed to a like reverse of fortune.”

Given at Dresden this 29th of March, 1707.

SIR, my Brother,

Your good Brother and Neighbour,

The direction was to
 his Majesty the K.
 of Poland.

AUGUSTUS R.

King *Stanislaus* answered this letter a month
 afterwards by a letter somewhat longer, con-
 taining

taining in substance, that the correspondence of his Majesty was a new obligation that he had to the King of *Sweden*; that he was sensible of the compliments which he made him on his coming to the crown; and that he hoped his subjects would have no occasion to fail in their fealty, since he should observe the laws of the kingdom. 1707.

This Prince had already been acknowledged in the month of *February* by the King of *Prussia*, who was also recognized in the same quality by King *Stanislaus*. As the King of *Sweden* always kept up a firm union with the houses of *Lunembourg*, his Majesty engaged King *Stanislaus* to write a letter to the Elector of *Hanover*, and to the Duke of *Wolfenbottle*, to notify his accession to the crown. These Princes by their answers acknowledged him to be King of *Poland*: As did the King of *France*, who sent an officer of his *Swiss* guards into *Saxony*, to compliment him thereon.

Thus the King of *Sweden* obtained his purpose, and put an happy issue to an affair, the success whereof had appeared impossible to the whole world. No person being able to imagine seven years before, when three enemies drew their swords against him at once, that he would bring the business to so glorious a conclusion; and that one of his enemies, a Prince otherwise rich and powerful, should be obliged to resign his crown to one whom the King of *Sweden* should chuse to fill his place.

All the differences being thus adjusted, by the full execution of all points of the treaty, a new incident retarded the departure of the King of *Sweden* from *Saxony*, and had perhaps caused an open rupture between him and the Empe-
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1707. ror, if they had not found means to remedy it in good time.

Baron *Stralenheim*, Envoy from *Sweden* to *Vienna*, being at an entertainment at one of the Emperor's Ministers with Count *Zobor*, an *Hungarian*, and Chamberlain of the Emperor, a petulant little man, and son-in-law of the rich Prince of *Lichtenstein*, this Count took upon him to utter some words not very respectful, which glanced at the King of *Sweden*, in comparing him to two others, who, he said, trouble *Europe*, *Stanislaus* and *Ragotski*, and he would not name the third.

Upon this very high words arose between Baron *Stralenheim* and the Count, tending towards a challenge, Baron *Stralenheim* held forth his hand to the Count to accept the challenge, on which the Count who fate opposite to him gave him a great blow, after which the company prevented them from any farther violence.

The Baron complained against the Count of *Zobor*, and demanded a public satisfaction for the affront offered to the King his master. The Emperor, to appease him, ordered the Count to be arrested, and a process exhibited against him.

This did not satisfy the King of *Sweden*, to whom *Stralenheim* repaired immediately, without taking his leave of the court of *Vienna*. To augment the ill-blood which this might occasion, he met in *Bohemia*, in his way to *Saxony*, parties of twenty and thirty *Muscovites*, who belonged to that body of fifteen hundred men, who fled from *Saxony* into the Empire, and whom the King of *Sweden* had some time since demanded at *Vienna* to be delivered to him, and concerning

concerning which that court had affected much 1707.
slowness in its answer. To know in reality if
these men had escaped with the connivance of
the Imperial court, *Stralenheim* ordered his ser-
vants to tell the *Muscovite* officers, that he was
the Count of *Wakerbath*, a *Saxon*, a fiction
which made them avow the truth, but very
much irritated the King of *Sweden*, as soon as
the Baron had reported it to him.

Besides all this, there had been a quarrel at
Breslau, where some insults had been used to the
Swedes who were recruiting there, and in which
a Corporal was killed.

The Imperial court alarmed at the sudden
departure of the *Swedish* Minister, and the o-
ther circumstances, dispatched an express to
Count *Zinzendorff*, with a letter from Count
Wratislau to Count *Piper*, by which Count
Wratislau signified, that if he might be per-
mitted to approach the King of *Sweden*, the
Emperor, his master, had fixed on him to testi-
fy the dispositions of his Imperial Majesty, to
preserve continually a good understanding with
his Majesty of *Sweden*, and to give him all pos-
sible satisfaction on those causes of displeasure
which he might imagine himself to have against
the Emperor.

The Count *de Zinzendorff* was ordered at the
same time, to acknowledge King *Stanislaus* un-
der three principal conditions :

1. That King *Stanislaus* should engage to
maintain inviolably all the ancient treaties con-
cluded between the house of *Austria*, and his
predecessors the Kings of *Poland*.

1707. 2. That he should not intermeddle directly nor indirectly with the war in *Hungary*.
 3. That he should guaranty the Emperor from all damages which he might suffer on the part of the *Muscovites*.

These three points being conceded a short time afterwards, King *Stanislaus* was recognized in form by the Emperor.

The King of *Sweden* insisted too strongly in the conferences between Count *Piper* and the Count *de Zinzendorff*, on the article of the fifteen hundred *Muscovites*, and the re-establishment of the grievances in religion in *Silesia*, where he claimed a restitution of the *Lutheran* churches, which had been seized since the peace of *Westphalia*, whereof his Majesty was guarantee by right of succession, as King of *Sweden*.

It was then proposed to the Imperial Minister to remit that quota of the subsidies which *Sweden* was either to pay into the chest of the Empire in money, or to supply an equivalent in troops for the army of the Germanic body, in consideration of the heavy war in which *Sweden* had been engaged. The limitation of the right of primogeniture in *Holstein*, and the confirmation of the Bishoprick of *Eutin* to the descendant of the younger branch of *Gottorp*, made another point. The delivery of the Count *de Zobor*, and of the officers of *Breslau*, which his Majesty demanded as a preliminary, was likewise an article absolutely necessary to the admission of Count *Wratislau*. Count *Piper* writ some days afterwards a letter to Count *Zinzendorff*, transmitting to him at the same time the King's declaration touching the *Muscovite* troops.

We

We shall see hereafter, what measures the Imperial court took to lay that storm which was ready to burst on its head. 1707.

In this month of *April* an Envoy from *France* appeared all of a sudden in *Saxony*, this was the Baron *Bossenwald*, who had passed thro' the Empire under the disguise of a merchant, and arrived safely at *Leipsic*, where he presently appeared with an eclat, though this gave a subject for murmurs at *Ratisbonne* to the allies, whose distrust was encreased by a *Bavarian* * minister's presenting himself at the same time in *Saxony*. But the arrival of the Duke of *Marlborough* at the King's quarters, and the assurances which he carried back soon removed all jealousies conceived of the King of *Sweden*.

The Duke of *Marlborough* landed from *England* in *Holland* the 5th of *April*, and presently set out for *Saxony*, to assure himself precisely of the King of *Sweden*'s intentions.

He arrived the 17th of the same month at *Hall*, where Mr. *Robinson* the *English* Minister, with the Imperial and *Dutch* Envoys, came to meet him. While he was on the road from this town to the King of *Sweden*'s quarters, he was informed that his Majesty would not give him an audience till the next day. This news prevailed with my Lord Duke to repair directly to the quarters of Count *Piper*, who assured him on the part of his Majesty, how agreeable his arrival would be to him. The audience was fixed for the next day at eleven, being the 4th day of *Easter*, as soon as his Majesty came from church.

* This was perhaps the Count de *Monasterole*.

1707. The Duke went from Count Piper to *Kot-schau*, a little village which they had prepared for his quarters, and which was but a short quarter of a league from those of the King. In the morning, he arrived at the appointed hour at *Alt-Ranstadt*, where he was received by Mr. *Duben* Comptroller of the court, and other officers. Count Piper received him in an Antichamber, and conducted him to the King's apartment, where he found his Majesty in the midst of divers Princes, Senators, Generals, Gentlemen and Officers.

The Duke made a short compliment to his Majesty in *English*, which was interpreted in the *Swedish* language by Mr. *Robinson*, who spoke that tongue in great perfection. The substance of it follows :

*I have the honour to present your Majesty a letter from her Majesty the Queen of Great-Britain, my most gracious mistress ; not from her Secretaries *, but written with her own hand and heart. She would have a most singular pleasure in seeing your Majesty, as a Prince who is the admiration of all Europe, if so long a voyage had been proper for her sex. However, I esteem myself happy, to have the honour of assuring your Majesty of my respects, and should account it my great good fortune, that my affairs would permit me to learn, under the command of so great a General as your Majesty, such particulars of the art of war as I am at present ignorant of.*

Count Piper answered in the name of the

* The French word is *Chancellerie*, but I thought this translation would sound best to an *English* reader.

King of Sweden in the following manner, which 1707.
Mr. Robinson interpreted in *English*.

The letters of the Queen of Great-Britain and your person are very agreeable to me, and I shall always shew the greatest regard to the mediation of her Britannic Majesty, and the interest of the grand alliance. It is against my will that I have been constrained to give the least umbrage to any of its members, but your Excellence must perceive that I had just reasons for my march hither, with my troops. On the other side, you may assure the Queen my sister, that my design is to leave this country as soon as I have received the satisfaction I have demanded, but not before. Nevertheless, I shall do nothing against the common cause in general, or the Protestant religion in particular.

The Duke afterwards spoke in *French*, which his Majesty understood though he did not speak it, answering always in *Swedish*, which Mr. Robinson interpreted to the Duke. The conversation was afterwards general during an hour. After which his Majesty went into the hall to dinner, whether the Duke followed him with the other Generals and Ministers. The Duke was placed on the right of the King, Count Piper being on his left. There was no conversation at the table; only the Duke discoursed with Count *Welling*, who sat by him, to whom he spoke *French*, but in a very low voice.

After dinner, which lasted a little longer than ordinary, and during which advice came that King *Augustus* was on his return from *Dresden* to *Leipsic*, the Duke returned with the King to the chamber of audience, where most of the rest of the company soon retired.

1707. The Duke then spoke amply on the subject of his commission, the tendency of which was, to assure himself of the true intentions of the King of *Sweden* with regard to the affairs of *Europe*. His Majesty listened with much satisfaction and attention, so did Count *Piper* and Secretary *Hermelin*, who were present. Count *Piper* answered on the part of the King. This conversation turned on the war in *Brabant*, the battles of *Hochstedt* and *Schellenberg*, and other matters concerning the war.

The King enlarged much on all these matters, and discovered so deep a knowledge in the art-military as surprized the Duke.

This conversation lasted near two hours, till the twelve trumpets sounded the third time, being the signal for vespers. The Duke then left the King, who went to church, while the Duke visited the Countess *Piper*, and had afterwards a long conference with the Count. He went afterwards to *Wittersdorff*, to wait on the Countess of *Rheinschild*, wife of the Velt-Marshal, from whence he returned to his quarters.

The next day the King of *Sweden* came early to *Leipfic*, to visit King *Augustus* in the garden of *Apel*. These two Monarchs talked together near two hours in a very friendly manner, which finally removed all suspicions of a misunderstanding, which had reigned ever since the hunting party above mentioned. After this interview the King of *Sweden* returned to *Alt-Ransstadt*.

In this interval, my Lord Duke went to the garden of *Joeker*, whence he paid his respects to King *Augustus*, immediately on the departure of the King of *Sweden*, and had a conversation

sation of half an hour with that Prince. He returned from thence to *Guntersdorff**, where he dined at Count *Piper*'s with Count *Zinzen-dorff*, Mr. *Robinson*, Count *Pflug*, and the Baron *Goertz*. After dinner, the Duke, Count *Piper*, Mess. *Robinson* and *Goertz*, had a long conference on the affairs of *Holstein*. In the evening, the Duke supped with Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild*. 1707.

The next day King *Augustus*, accompanied by Count *Pflug*, Velt-Marshal *Ogilvi*, General *Robel*, General *Wakerbarth*, the great Falconer Count *Vitzthum* and Count *Lagnasco*, repaired to *Alt-Ranstadt*. The two Kings remained alone together in the closet till dinner, at which King *Augustus* took the right, as usual, having next him the Prince of *Mecklembourg*; none of the Swedish Generals, save Count *Rheinschild*, were present.

Their repast being over, which lasted but one hour, King *Augustus* returned to the King

* *The Author's remark.* I was at *Guntersdorff* when my Lord Duke came thither to dine with Count *Piper*. I had waited at the King's table at *Alt-Ranstadt* the day before, when my Lord Duke dined there. He arrived at *Guntersdorff*, accompanied by Baron *Goertz*, who was with him in his coach. Count *Piper* piqued at the confidence the Duke reposed in Baron *Goertz*, made him wait some time at the door, before he came to receive him. The Duke, shocked at this, as soon as he saw the Count at his door, opened

the coach on the other side, and went to make water against the wall of a garden opposite to the Count's house, leaving him to wait a considerable time; at last, he turned about to salute the Count, who conducted him into his house, where they dined with great ceremony. A Secretary of the Chancery, whose name was *Klinkowstrom*, waited at table, at which the Duke was seated between the Countess *Piper* on his right, and Madam *Robinson*, wife to the English Envoy, on the left.

1707. of Sweden's closet, where the two Princes discoursed for some time, and then the former returned to *Leipsic*, the K. of Sweden, with Count *Rheinschild* and other persons belonging to the court, accompanying him half way.

At the King of Sweden's return, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had in the morning received the visits of the Counts *Piper*, *Rheinschild*, and others, and had afterwards dined with the Baron *de Goertz*, came to take his audience of leave of his Majesty. During which, it was told the King that King *Stanislaus*, with Count *Sapieha*, Marshal of *Lithuania*, were in the antichamber. The Duke said, that he had nothing to communicate to that Prince, since the Queen his Mistress had already complimented him by Mr. *Robinson*. His Majesty then went to receive King *Stanislaus*, and conducted him into his chamber, between whom and the Duke many civilities past.

The Duke having taken leave of his Swedish Majesty, departed for *Leipsic*, and thence, without stopping, continued his journey towards *Berlin*, which the King of *Prussia* invited him to take in his way by a letter under his own hand. He returned to the *Hague* the first of *May*, where he declared openly how much he was satisfied with his journey to *Alt-Ranstadt*, and with the person of the King of Sweden, of whom he always spoke with great commendation.

April 21. King *Augustus* with his train set out from *Leipsic* for *Dresden*, thereby putting an end to all the conferences which he had had with his Swedish Majesty touching the peace.

Some days afterwards a report caused great amazement at the head-quarters at *Alt-Ranstadt*.

This was the arresting the Plenipotentiaries *Imhoff* and *Pfingsten* in their houses at *Dresden*; and very shortly conducting them to the fortress of *Königsstein*. The Ministers of King *Augustus* pretended, that they were very justly seized for not having faithfully followed their instructions; that they had exceeded their full powers, and concealed some articles from King *Augustus*, on a vain expectation that they might prevail with the King of *Sweden* to soften the rigour of them. 1707.

Be that as it will, this step plainly demonstrated the intention of King *Augustus*, who, by this public disapprobation of the peace he had just concluded, shewed that he intended to break it on the first reverse of fortune that should befall the King of *Sweden*, and the first opportunity which should present itself of breaking it with safety.

This, however, gave little pain at *Alt-Ranstadt*; and as soon as the Queen of *Poland*, wife of King *Stanislaus*, and Madam-Royal the King's mother had left *Leisnitz*, his *Swedish* Majesty began to visit his troops in their different quarters. The *Drabans* were first reviewed, and all those who saw them averred that they had never seen troops so fine and so warlike at the same time.

The King went next to *Voigtland*, to see the regiment of *Ostrogoths*, who were quartered in and about *Plauen*. King *Augustus* was present at this review, as he was at that of many other regiments, together with Monseigneur the Duke-Governor of *Holstein*, and Prince *Wurtemberg*, who always attended on the King.

The regiments were all found in excellent condition, it being impossible to add to the beauty

1707. beauty of the men and of the horses, any more than to the uniformity as well as adroitness of the military exercises and evolutions. The King fatigued himself so much on these occasions, that one day, during the review of a regiment of cavalry, he killed two horses, who both fell stiff under him. The same happened also to Prince *Wurtemberg*, who always kept up close to the King.

But it is now time to return into *Poland*, and take a view of the motions of the Czar, and a new party which had formed itself during the stay of the King of *Sweden*, and King *Stanislaus* in *Saxony*.

The Czar was violently irritated at the first report of King *Augustus's* being retired into *Saxony*, and his solemn abdication of the crown of *Poland* by a peace with the King of *Sweden*. The articles of the delivery up of *Patkul* enraged him above all the rest, and he sent forth his complaints into all the courts where he had any commerce. *Matueof*, his Ambassador at the *Hague*, sent the Duke of *Marlborough* a letter from his master to the Queen of *England**, filled with invectives against King *Augustus*. The Ambassadors sent at the same time to the Duke, and some days afterwards to the States, a memorial of the 4th of *January*, O. S. containing great bitterness, and insisting that the State should not recognize King *Stanislaus*. But whilst the Czar was busied in fruitless endeavours in foreign courts, to hinder their recognizing the new King of *Poland*, which only

* This letter is very curious, and is to be found in the *Memoirs of Pierre le Grand*, Tom. 3. but too long to be inserted here.

tended to illustrate the power of the King of 1707. *Sweden*, whom they durst not offend ; he was not remiss, at the same time, in providing by all the measures which prudence could dictate, for the warm reception of the *Swedes*, against whom he was shortly to stand alone.

His army, in the beginning of the year 1707, consisted in *Poland* of thirty thousand foot, and as many dragoons, exclusive of the troops in *Livonia* and *Courland*, and thirty regiments which were expected from *Ingria* and the neighbourhood of *Moscow*. This Prince entering *Poland* at the head of so considerable an army, saw himself in the same condition of giving law there, as the King of *Sweden* had been before him.

We have said before that there were two Primates in *Poland* ; one named *Szembeck*, formerly Bishop of *Cujavia*, of the nomination of King *Augustus*, whom he had crowned ; the other nominated by King *Stanislaus*, whose name was *Dzielinski*, who had before been Archbishop of *Leopold*.

The first, fearing that if *Stanislaus* remained on the throne, he should be compelled to give up his dignity to his competitor, implored the protection of the Czar. At the same time he put himself at the head of those who had stood firm to King *Augustus's* party, and would not acknowledge *Stanislaus*, thinking to proceed to a new election. They obtained a promise of Prince *Menzikoff*, that the Czar would not abandon them, but would assist them with the same subsidies, and the same auxiliary troops which he had before furnished.

This

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This Primate wrote to *Ratisbon*, to intreat the States of the Empire, to recognize no other for King of *Poland* but him, whom the unanimous consent of all the Republic should elect. He then published circularly letters to convoke a general diet of the Senators and Deputies of the Nobility at *Leopold*, Jan. 27. to deliberate on the present situation of affairs, and the most conducive methods to proceed to the election of a new King.

Whilst the Czar was drawing toward *Leopol*, to give more weight to the diet which was to be there held, he lost *Smigelski*, formerly a strenuous partizan of King *Augustus*. This officer, who had in his custody the Palatine of *Kiovia*, and the Count *de Tarlo*, taken prisoners at *Kalis*, being piqued at some haughtiness in the behaviour of Prince *Menzikof* towards him, abandoned the *Russians*, and setting his prisoners at liberty, went into *Saxony* and acknowledged King *Stanislaus*, carrying with him a hundred and fifty *Russians* whom he took from *Prziemisle*.

The Czar arrived at *Zolkiew* at the quarters of Prince *Menzikof*, where many *Polish* grandees, especially those dignitaries who held their employments of King *Augustus*, and could not hope to keep them if they submitted to King *Stanislaus*, came to make their court to the new protector, before they went to *Leopold*. They agreed instantly to furnish this Prince with one hundred and forty thousand pounds of bread a day for his men, who amounted to seventy thousand.

The better to intimidate the friends of *Stanislaus*, the Czar detached the Generals *Ronn* and *Heinck* with a flying party of dragoons, the first on the side of *Prussia*, and the second of

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Grand Poland ; these proceeded with fire and sword, not sparing one of those who sided with the new King. 1707.

The great Council of *Leopold* opened, Jan. 28. and was adjourned to the first of *February*. It was composed of the Primate *Szembeck*, and of many Senators, Bishops, Palatines, Castellans, and Dignitaries of the kingdom, of King *Augustus's* appointment, of which number were General *Simiowski*, and Prince *Wisniowski*.

To this assembly the Czar sent the *Knez Dolgorucki* in quality of his Ambassador. It was debated under what form they should proceed, and they at length agreed to entitle their council, *the sequel of the confederacy of Sendomir*, to which council they would make the necessary additions on the present state of affairs. They then put this question, *If they had a King or no ?* which was carried in the negative, after they had examined into the flight of King *Augustus*, his treaty with the King of *Sweden*, and his abdication of the throne. A motion was then made to declare the throne vacant, and they resolved to assemble a diet at *Lublin* for the month of *May*, after they had assembled the members in the *Palatinates*. In the mean time it was resolved to exhort those who had taken the contrary party, to be present, that they might concur in the common defence. Lastly, it was agreed that the Primate should dispatch letters to inform foreign powers of the rights and liberties of *Poland*, and to desire them to recognize no person as King of that kingdom, unless he be elected and recognized by the free suffrages of all the orders of the Republic.

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The Czar promised the members of this assembly, by his letters to *Siniawski*, that he would never abandon them, by making a separate treaty with the *Swedes*. He repaired some days afterwards to *Leopold*, where he arrived the 9th of *February*, followed by the Czarowitz his son, *Menzikof*, and other Ministers. In the end he assisted himself at the debates, using all his efforts to quicken them to the election of a new King.

Whilst these things were in agitation, a *Muscovite* party commanded by General *Ronn* surprised *Dzielinski*, Primate by the nomination of King *Stanislaus*, and Archbishop of *Gnesne*, who had wandered for some time in the habit of a peasant, with a design to escape in that manner into *Saxony*. He was very severely dealt with, and the opposite Primate took great pains with the Bishops assembled at *Leopold*, to get him delivered as an Ecclesiastic. The Czar, without any regard to their solicitations, caused him to be carried prisoner to *Kiow*, where he was kept in a very vile prison.

The debates at *Leopold* being ended, after many conferences between the Senators themselves, and between the Czar and his Ministers, it was resolved that as soon as they should have settled the foundations of a strict alliance with his Czarish Majesty, and have taken the necessary measures to maintain the general confederacy of *Sandomir*, they should endeavour to obtain of that Prince a remission of the *Ukrain* to the Republic. They confirmed at the same time, the Commissaries who had been named by the great council, to receive this restitution; as likewise those who had been chosen for the observers
of

of military discipline in conjunction with the 1707. deputies of his Czarish Majesty.

This resolution was accompanied with two declarations or authentic promises, that the Czar and the Confederates would mutually confide in each other, that neither party would separate their common interests. These declarations were signed on each part, *March 20.* by the Czar on the one side only, and by eighteen Senators on the other, at the head of which was the Primate *Stanislaus Szembek*, and the great General *Siniawski*.

The Czar then returned to *Zolkiew*; and as the *Poles* feared that this Prince would propose his son to the diet of *Lublin*, to be elected to the crown of *Poland*, as it was then generally credited, he sent him back to *Moscow*. After which he paid eight hundred thousand florins to the *Polish* and *Lithuanian* troops, according to his agreement at *Leopol*.

King *Stanislaus*, attentive to all the motions of the Primate, saw with grief, that the troubles, far from being brought to an end in *Poland*, were now renewing with the utmost violence, by that headlong and giddy spirit which so apparently ruled in this factious assembly at *Leopol*.

This Prince having already issued his proclamations through all *Poland* in the beginning of the year, published a new memorial at this time, by which he represented to all the orders of the Republic, the concern which he felt at the insolent and vile behaviour of this assembly, who would precipitate themselves into the last of misfortunes, by their obstinate adherence to the Czar of *Muscovy*, who was laying waste the kingdom, and endeavouring to disunite the members, in order to gain an advantage in the

1707. war which he intended against the King of *Sweden*, with whom the treaty of peace had been happily concluded in *Saxony*, and signed at *Alt-Ranfstadt*; in consequence of which, tranquillity had been re-established by King *Augustus's* renunciation of the crown, and that absolute cession which had been made in favour of King *Stanislaus*. That his Majesty would repair to *Warsovia*, and would endeavour to restore quiet in the kingdom. In the mean time, he exhorted them all, as well nobility as the soldiery and others, to concur with him in this good design, and to unite themselves in defence of his person against the enemy: that he declared all such who adhered to the council of *Leopol* to be traitors to their country, and as such would pursue them with fire and sword on his victorious return into *Poland*, when he should be supported with the glorious arms of the King of *Sweden*, that he would confiscate all their goods to the crown, and inflict the most dreadful punishments on their persons.

Poland was at this time every day the theatre of the most tragic scenes. Provinces depopulated, towns reduced into ashes, the inhabitants oppressed, trampled on, and driven from their houses, sometimes by one party, sometimes by the other, presented every where the most horrible and most hideous spectacles.

The Czar caused his troops to make several motions, not only for the more easy procuring their subsistence, but to form imperceptibly a body of the army round *Lublin*, to cover the diet which was assembling. On the other part, the body of *Swedes* which were in *Lower Poland*, composed of those regiments under *Mardesfeld*, who had obtained their liberty by the treaty

treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, and were now completely recruited and re-established, fortified themselves in *Posnania*, and gathered together a magazine for his Majesty's army, when it should re-enter *Poland*. 1707.

During this situation of affairs, General *Ronn*, who was encamped about *Thorn* with a body of twenty thousand men, most of them dragoons, received orders from the Czar to enter into the lines of *Dantzic*, which after long warning had at last declared for the *Swedes* and King *Stanislaus*.

The *Muscovite* General proposed to the Regency of this town, the following very hard conditions:

1. To renounce the interest of King *Stanislaus*.

2. That they should withdraw the cannon from the ramparts, when it was of no use against the defenders of *Polish* liberty.

3. That they should deliver up all the adherents to King *Stanislaus*, especially a *Swedish* commissary, named *Kniper Crona*, who should be found in the town.

4. That they should no longer delay the payment of certain contributions which had been already demanded.

5. That the town should furnish them with a certain quantity of powder and ball.

6. That as they could not help acknowledging the *Russians* to be the defenders of the public liberty, so the town could not refuse to admit for some time a garrison of *Russian* troops.

7. That they should provide horses to mount fifteen hundred dragoons, and tents for ten thousand men.

1707. 8. That they should furnish bread for the troops.

9. That they should make a present at their discretion to General *Ronn*.

The town of *Dantzic*, which was too firm and too full of zeal to accept such hard and dishonourable conditions, resolved, after a short debate, to defend herself against force, and having sent a Colonel with twelve hundred men and some cannon into the lines, they made holes in their banks, by which General *Ronn* was obliged to retire with precipitation, and with so much the more confusion, as he had menaced what he was not able to execute.

In the mean time, the Czar, fearing lest the Pope, since *Augustus* had renounced the crown of *Poland*, should recognize King *Stanislaus*, whose election he had disapproved, determined to send the Knez *Boris Kurakin*, as his Minister, to *Rome*. This Minister, under a shew of reuniting the *Greek* church to the holy See, a project with which *Rome* had always flattered herself, was ordered to use all imaginable efforts to dissuade his holiness from recognizing King *Stanislaus*: In which he was the more likely to succeed, as Pope *Clement XI.* was the more averse to this proceeding, on account of the protection which the King of *Sweden* gave to King *Stanislaus*, the former of these Kings being regarded by the Pope as a terrible heretic, against whom he was violently irritated, on his having sided with the *Lutherans* of *Silesia* against the Catholic powers.

Whilst the Czar took these measures at *Rome*, to prevent the loss of his adherents in *Poland*, and the overthrow of all his projects, which might

might be brought about by a single letter from the Pope to the Clergy of the kingdom in favour of King *Stanislaus*, he caused his troops to make terrible waste in the lands and goods of those who were in the service of that Prince, to give the rest to understand what they were to expect if they deserted his party. But as the soldiers, from whom all restraint was taken off, in executing those dreadful commands, were not obliged to know the exact bounds of those lands which were prescribed by the assembly of *Leopol*, it often happened that his friends suffered by bordering on his enemies; this excited bitter and continual complaints, which were brought to the Czar's court, whilst universal exclamations ran through the kingdom, against so severe an ally and protector.

The new diet was fixed to be held at *Lublin*, May 13. Few of the grantees appeared at the opening, though this was conducted with great magnificence, and many fine harangues. The Czar saw that the *Poles* made a difficulty of entering into his views, and only sought to gain time. In effect, they only dispatched a few passports with the Czarish Ministers, and regulated some other affairs of little consequence.

This conduct in the *Poles* extremely incensed the Czar, especially when he saw that Prince *Wisniowski* had abandoned his party; which Prince, tired with a war of which he could promise himself no good issue, and being moreover dissatisfied with the violent barbarities exercised indifferently by the *Russian* troops, under pretence of spoiling the lands of the adherents to *Sweden*, judged it his interest to change sides; and as he saw himself at the head of the army in *Lithuania*, he led it entire into the camp of

1707. General Count *Adam Lowenbaupt*, whence he went forward to *Saxony* to submit to King *Stanislaus* who found means to reunite this powerful Lord with *Sapieha*.

The other *Lituanian* Generals soon followed their chief; there remained only General *Sieniki*, Great-Master of the artillery of *Lituania*, whose march was cut off by the *Russians*, by whom he was obliged to throw himself into *Bichow*, a strong place, where he was soon besieged, and forced to surrender himself at discretion, together with his brother, and several other grandees of the kingdom.

Sieniki endeavoured to excuse his conduct by representing to the Czar, that he had no intention to quit his party; that he had only obeyed the orders of *Wisniowski*, without knowing the correspondence he maintained with the enemy; but the Czar being piqued to the last degree, and likewise much displeased at the slow proceedings of the assembly of *Lublin*, sent *Sieniki* to prison at *Moscow*. The Czar published at the same time proclamations against *Wisniowski* and his adherents. *Wisniowski* answered by circular letters, in which he deplored the miserable state of his country, which was become a prey to its friends as well as foes; declaring, that he would not have forsaken the part of the confederates, had he not seen the ruin of his country inevitable, if it remained thus divided, and under the protection of two such powerful monarchs, who were enemies to each other.

The impatience of the Czar at the irresolution which reigned in the assembly of *Lublin* is hardly to be believed. He was yet at *Solkiew*, where there is a fine castle and three beautiful walks. These could in no manner ease his inquietude.

quietude. The assembly took notice of the taking of *Bicbow*, and concerted with the Knez *Dolgorucki* the means to regain the *Lithuanian* army. As to the demands of the *Polonese* of having *Bicbow* restored, with the artillery which had been taken, a reparation of all the wrongs and damage done by the *Tartarian Calmucks*, and the delivery of *Stanislaus* his Primate to the assembly; the Czar consented, on condition that *Bicbow* should be razed, or at least have no more garrisons thrown into it; that the artillery should be restored at the end of the war; that the damages done by the *Calmucks* should be repaired and paid; and lastly, that the Primate should be indulged in his prison with all sorts of conveniencies, till the decision of the holy See arrived.

On *June 10.* the Czar went to *Lublin* with an escorte of three thousand men, hoping to bring the assembly to some vigorous resolution. This Prince had in his train the Ministers of *Denmark* and *Prussia*, and Count *Berezini* Envoy from Prince *Ragotski*, who came on behalf of the malecontents of *Hungary*, to demand a supply in money from his Czarish Majesty, and to offer the crown of *Hungary* to the Czarowitz. But he obtained neither the one nor the other.

At his first arrival at *Lublin*, the Czar saw, that he could have no dependance on the resolutions of this tumultuous and wavering assembly. To found them therefore, he made them these three propositions.

1. That they would publish the interregnum and elect a King.
2. That they would draw up the formulary of a new oath, by which the grandes should oblige

1707. oblige themselves to continue inviolably and faithfully attached to the Czar.

3. That in pursuance of their engagements they would give sureties of their alliance.

The members of the assembly answered to these demands, that they had no certainty of the absolute renunciation by King *Augustus*; they must be allowed time therefore to send into *Saxony*, to know the true intentions of that Prince, the rather for that *Pfingsten* and *Imhoff* had been put under arrest, which gave them room to judge that he disapproved the treaty which these commissaries had made. They added, that, in the mean time, the Czar might, if he pleased, take measures to drive the *Swedes* out of *Great Poland*, to the end, that if they came to an election, it might be transacted with the greater freedom. They demanded, lastly, of the Czar, sureties of the performance of his promises, in favour of him whom they should elect.

The Czar replied, that their pretended ignorance of King *Augustus's* dispositions was a palpable evasion, and without prejudice to the freedom of their election, he proposed to them as candidates for the crown, the Great General *Siniawski*, who had been long in their favour, the Palatine of *Mazovia* *Cbementowski*, Vice-Chancellor *Srzembeck*, and the Count *de Dabnbof*, under sword-carrier, and Marshal of the confederacy. Adding, that whosoever of these four should be elected, might be assured of his protection and assistance.

The old Primate, charmed with the thoughts of putting the crown on the head of a person who should owe his advancement solely to him, without

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without reflecting on the mischievous consequences of this election, seconded the propositions of the Czar, and succeeded so well by his menaces, that, in spite of the opposition of many members, the crown was declared vacant, and the Interregnum published; and whereas some grandees of *Lithuania* had held an assembly where they had taken particular resolutions, it was agreed to hold a Council at *Novogrodeck*, to reunite the interests of the two nations, under the protection of the Czar.

We should certainly have seen very shortly three Kings on foot at once in *Poland*, had not the Czar, who was full of penetration, discovering that he could by no means rely on those persons, taken a resolution entirely different: for having no way but open force to make head against the King of *Sweden*, who was now preparing to re-enter *Poland* with a flushed and victorious army, he abandoned for this time all thoughts of a new election, and meditating only how to draw the war into a foreign country like this of *Poland*, he divided his troops into several bodies, one of which he sent into *Polish Prussia*, a second into *Lithuania*, another into the neighbourhood of *Warsaw*, giving orders at the same time to his Generals to watch the motions of the *Swedes*, and in case they attempted to pass the *Vistula*, to break down all the bridges; that if after this they were not able to dispute their passage of the river, they should lay waste by fire and sword, all the country on this side, in their retreat, by which means all subsistence might be taken from the enemy, and at the same time to fatigue them continually with marches and counter-marches.

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This terrible order was so punctually executed, that the soldiers, greedy of booty, acknowledging no law, as soon as the bridle was taken off, committed the most shocking barbarities in *Poland*; to which, of all others, the poor town of *Lissa*, belonging to King *Stanislaus*, was the most exposed. To give one example.

A *Russian* Colonel, whose name was *Schultz*, entered into *Lissa*, *July* 5, and after having exacted the most excessive contributions, he plundered the town, with the *Calmucks* and *Tartars*, from the 6th to the 19th of that month; during which time they committed violences unheard-of, and almost incredible had not a printed account in form of a journal set down in particular all the dreadful circumstances.

After this cruel execution, he set fire to that beautiful town, and not contented with reducing it to ashes, after having committed more than Barbarian cruelties, he took away with him a company of the citizens who were clothiers, to be employed in the new manufactory erected at *Moscow*, where they were obliged to work during their lives. Some of the inhabitants, not amounting to the twelfth part, had the happiness to save themselves naked and stript of every thing in *Silesia*, the rest having been all massacred.

The town of *Ravitz*, the fine castle of *Reissen* or *Ridzin*, and many other places, shared the same fate. These actions so alienated the minds of the people from the *Muscovites*, that through all *Poland* no wish was heard but to see the *Swedes* and King *Stanislaus* enter into the kingdom, to deliver the inhabitants from their cruel protectors.

Most of the members of the assembly at *Lublin* retired at the same time. The Count of *Dabnbof* made lively complaints to the Czar, shewing him the ill effect of the conduct of his officers. At first, he recommended more moderation to them, but in effect, they only changed their manner of ruining the *Polonese*, whom they stript of whatever they had that was valuable, in order to adorn and enrich *Russia*.

The Czar himself caused the rich moveables to be taken out of the castle of *Warsaw*, even to the fine orange-trees which were there, and every thing that he liked best to be removed from the finest palaces of the town. These he afterwards transported in quantities to *Moscow*, or *St. Petersburg*.

We shall hereafter see the conclusion of the turbulent diet of *Lublin*. Let us at present return to *Saxony*, and take a view of the determination of the differences between the King of *Sweden* and the Emperor.

As divers powers apprehended the consequences of his *Swedish* Majesty's resentment, they offered their mediation to reconcile him with the Emperor. The Queen of *England* was particularly zealous by her Envoy Mr. *Robinson*, as was *Holland* by Mr. *Haersolt*, to calm the King's irritated temper, who threatened nothing less than an invasion of the Emperor's hereditary dominions, unless he received satisfaction.—The following is the answer from his *Swedish* Majesty to the Queen of *Great-Britain's* letter.

M A D A M,

“ SINCE the letter which your Majesty
“ writ me on the 30th of *May*, hath dis-
“ covered some concern for those subjects of
“ dissatis-

1707. “ dissatisfaction which the Emperor hath given
 “ me, offering to employ your good offices,
 “ to bring about an accommodation ; I cannot
 “ forbear thanking your Majesty for the marks
 “ you have thereby given me of your zeal and
 “ attention to my interest. It is much against
 “ my inclination that these differences had birth,
 “ and when any one reflects on the manner in
 “ which the Imperial court hath behaved to
 “ me, they will easily judge that hitherto she
 “ hath been little disposed to render me any
 “ real satisfaction ; on the contrary, it appears
 “ that she was desirous of heaping new offences
 “ on her first stroke.

“ Your Majesty is not ignorant that after the
 “ wrongs which have been done me at divers
 “ places and times, some months are past
 “ without my being able to obtain the sa-
 “ tisfaction I have a right to. What gives
 “ me room to doubt that they will make
 “ the greater difficulty to give it me, is,
 “ that it was determined, while they were de-
 “ bating thereon, to suffer the *Muscovites* to
 “ escape, and leave them an open and free pas-
 “ sage through the estates of the empire, not-
 “ withstanding the right which I had to claim
 “ them, and contrary to the hopes which they
 “ had given me of delivering them into my
 “ hands. This will suffice to justify my anger
 “ and my resentment, and if I have not just
 “ satisfaction made me, I think myself obliged
 “ to seek it in the hereditary provinces of the
 “ Emperor, a step which no one can blame in
 “ a like conjuncture.”

Alt-Ranstadt, July 25. 1707.

I am, &c.

Baron

Baron *Groth* arrived at *Hanover*, in order to forward the business in conjunction with the other Ministers. The allied courts were much alarmed at the part which his Majesty was going to act. The Emperor having all things to fear in the present situation of his affairs, resolved at last to accommodate himself entirely to the King's will, and this the more eagerly, as they had received news at *Vienna* of the approach of several *Swedish* regiments to the frontiers of *Silesia*.

As soon as the conditions were regulated, on which Count *Wratislau* was to be received in the character of Ambassador, this Minister appeared in *Saxony*, furnished with very ample powers, but the King could not admit him to an audience, till all the articles in question were agreed on. The Ministers of the maritime powers, and above all Baron *Groth*, who was extremely well at the court, contributed much to the success of this affair.

Count *Zobor*, in conformity to the preliminaries settled for the reception of Count *Wratislau*, was already delivered to the *Swedes*, and conducted to prison at *Stetin*, where he was treated with much civility by the King's express order. He was soon after sent back to *Vienna*, as we shall see presently, together with Adjutant *Breslau*, who had caused the disturbance which happened on account of the *Swedish* levies, and who had likewise been delivered up. The town of *Breslau* was condemned to pay four thousand crowns to the widow of the Corporal, who had been killed in that scuffle.

The preliminaries were no sooner thus regulated, but without delay, they proceeded to draw up the articles of the convention, the first of

1707. of which regarded the matters of religion in *Silesia*; the second contained the confirmation of the convention in 1647, in which the chapter of *Lubec* had promised to chuse her Bishops and Coadjutors till the sixth generation from the most serene house of *Holstein-Gottorp*; there was a paragraph inserted likewise, respecting the right of primogeniture or eldership in the same most serene house. By the third article, the Emperor remitted *Sweden* all military or pecuniary subsidies, and all other contingents. The 4th submitted it to his *Swedish* Majesty, to chuse such guarantees of the convention as he pleased.

The Minister promised at the same time that this convention should be ratified by the Emperor his master a fortnight *. This appears more plainly in the treaty itself, with the Emperor's ratification, which here follows with the promises of the King of *Sweden*, translated from the *Latin*.

" I. It is promised on the part of his Imperial Majesty, that the free exercise of religion,
 " accorded by the peace of *Osnabrug*, to the
 " Princes, Courts, Barons and Nobles of *Silesia*, who are of the confession of *Ausbourg*,
 " to their subjects, and to all suburbs, villages

* The Count *de Wratislaw* had offered to the King of *Sweden* at the conferences, by virtue of the full powers with which he was intrusted, the little territory named *Haderland* on the *Elbe*, near the dutchy of *Bremen*, in lieu of the article of the fifteen hundred

Russians; but the King, out of his generosity, instantly refused it, being contented to obtain in its stead, as guarantee of the treaty of *Westphalia*, the restitution of the *Lutheran* churches in *Silesia*, a matter on which he had so long set his heart.

" and

and places thereon depending, shall not be
only conserved to them without any molesta-
tion or hindrance, but every innovation which
can be found contrary to the natural sense of
that treaty, shall be redressed. 1707.

II. The temples and schools of the principalities of *Lignits*, *Briga*, *Monsterberg*, and *Oelsna*, as also of the town of *Wratistlan*, and the other places thereon depending, which have been taken away since the peace of *Westphalia*, whether these have been employed to the use of the Catholic church, or whether they have been simply shut up, shall be restored to those of the confession of *Ausbourg*, with all the rights, privileges, rents, funds, and goods, which are attached or belonging to them, and this within six months at farthest, or sooner if it may be.

III. It shall be lawful for these churches which are built near the walls of the town of *Swinitz*, *Fawerin*, and *Glogau*, not only to entertain what number of clergy shall be necessary for divine service, but also to build and have near to these churches, schools for the education of youth.

IV. In places where the publick exercise of religion is forbidden to those of the confession of *Ausbourg*, no person shall be prohibited from attending divine worship peaceably and quietly in his house, for himself, his children, his servants, and the strangers there lodged, nor to send his children to foreign schools of the same religion, or to keep private preceptors to teach them at home.

Nor shall any of the confession of *Ausbourg* in *Silesia* be forbidden to be present at the divine service of the Catholics,

1707. “ lies, nor to frequent their schools, or embrace their religion, or to serve Catholic cures for the ecclesiastical functions of marriages, baptism, funerals, and such like. “ But every one shall be at liberty to convey himself to those neighbouring places where there is any public exercise of religion according to the confession of *Ausbourg*, whether within or without *Silesia*, and to employ the Ministers of the place conformable to ancient usage. In the same manner, the Ministers of the confession of *Ausbourg* shall not be hindered, when called, from visiting the sick of their religion, who live under the jurisdiction of Catholics, nor from assisting condemned prisoners, by communicating with them, advising them and comforting them.

“ V. The Nobility and others of the Catholic religion who shall live in the parishes where the confession of *Ausbourg* flourishes, or have goods there, shall be obliged to pay to the Minister the tithes and other rents appropriated to the cure.

“ VI. Tutors or guardians of a different religion shall not be assigned to pupils or orphans who are born of Protestant Parents, of whatever sex or degree they may be, much less shall they be obliged to enter into convents, to be instructed in the principles of the Catholic religion; and as the tutelage and education of infants belongs of natural right to their mothers, they shall be permitted, when they have no lawful or testamentary tutors or guardians, to procure others who are of the confession of *Ausbourg*, and to join these to them.

“ VII. If

VII. If any dispute shall arise on account
of religion, no warrant of execution shall be
granted by any President, or inferior Judge,
before the person against whom the process
is directed, may have opportunity of address-
ing the supreme Regency of *Silesia* for
justice. For which purpose the estates of the
confession of *Ausbourg* shall be permitted to
maintain procurators and mandatories at their
own charges at the Imperial court.

VIII. Matrimonial causes and others con-
cerning religion, either shall not be carried
at all to the Catholic consistory, or shall be
decided by the canons received in the reli-
gion of the confession of *Ausbourg*; and with
regard to the principalities, where they have
had consistories of that confession from the
peace of *Westphalia*, the antient usage shall
be re-established, and they shall decide the
said causes, saving always the appeal to the
Sovereign.

IX. Moreover, none of the churches or
schools where the exercise of religion of the
confession of *Ausbourg* hath been maintained,
till the present time, shall be suppressed;
whether such depend on the collation of the
Emperor, or other Catholic patrons, but shall
be conserved and protected, together with
their pastors and masters. As to the right of
naming preachers and ministers of the con-
fession of *Ausbourg*, for the service of church-
es and schools, it shall belong entirely to the
patrons of those churches, without being im-
peached by the contradiction of the Catho-
lics, who may have a common right; and in
case they should shuffle, and not declare the
preachers, &c. in the usual time, the univer-
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1707. “ sity may depute such preachers or school-
 “ masters, as it shall think convenient, without
 “ prejudice always, to the right of the patron.
 “ X. The nobles, nor their vassals and sub-
 “ jects of the confession of *Ausbourg*, shall not
 “ be excluded from such publick charges, as
 “ shall be necessary ; nor shall they be molested
 “ or hindered in the sale of their goods, or in
 “ their retreat into any other country, when this
 “ shall be lawful by the stipulations in the treaty
 “ of *Westphalia*.
 “ XI. His sacred Imperial Majesty will not re-
 “ fuse to give place, in pursuance of the request
 “ of the treaty of *Westphalia*, to the interven-
 “ tions and friendly intercessions of his sacred
 “ royal Majesty of *Sweden*, and the Princes
 “ and States of her religion, to obtain a great-
 “ er liberty of the exercise thereof in these
 “ States.
 “ XII. His Imperial Majesty shall likewise
 “ ordain, in the usual forms, not only that
 “ what hath been here agreed on, be executed
 “ at the appointed time, but also that all and
 “ singular of the articles here comprised be sin-
 “ cerely and exactly observed and accomplish-
 “ ed, at all times, seeing that the force of a
 “ law, not to be altered by any commands or
 “ edicts to the contrary, is attributed to them
 “ from this time forth for ever. Finally, his
 “ Imperial Majesty promises that the Minister
 “ of *Sweden* may attend the execution thereof,
 “ to which purpose, he may communicate with
 “ those who are entrusted in conducting it.
 “ XIII. As his royal Majesty of *Sweden* hath
 “ declared, that he hath extremely at heart the
 “ interests of the most serene house of *Holstein-*
 “ *Gottorp*, his sacred Imperial Majesty pro-
 “ mises,

“ mifes, that after the previous knowledge of 1707.
 “ the fact, and after having been duly required
 “ on the part of the faid Ducal houfe, he will
 “ within four months confirm the convention
 “ of 1647, by which the chapter of *Lubec*
 “ promised to take all her Bishops and Coad-
 “ jutors out of the faid moft ferene houfe, till
 “ the fixteenth generation inclusive.

“ XIV. His Imperial Majefty farther de-
 “ clares, that he is favourably difpofed towards
 “ the continuation of the right of primogeni-
 “ ture, according to the order introduced in
 “ the houfe of *Holstein-Gottorp* by Duke *Johst*
 “ *Adolphus*, Jan. 9. 1608, inasmuch as it hath
 “ been fucceffively confirmed by all the Empe-
 “ rors. So that his Imperial Majefty will not
 “ only confirm, in the beft form ufed at the
 “ Imperial court, the convention already men-
 “ tioned, and that order fo often affirmed; but
 “ will alfo conferve in all its force to the moft
 “ ferene houfe of *Holstein-Gottorp*, the right
 “ which it hath by that order acquired, with-
 “ out ever permitting any determination to the
 “ contrary.

“ XV. His facred Imperial Majefty remits
 “ to his facred royal Majefty of *Sweden*, all
 “ military or pecuniary fubfides, and all other
 “ contingents with which he may be bound to
 “ fupply his Imperial Majefty and the Empire,
 “ on account of his *German* provinces, by vir-
 “ tue of a decree of war againft *France*, as well
 “ the paff as the prefent, and during the whole
 “ courfe of that war, in fuch fort, that his roy-
 “ al Majefty of *Sweden*, his fucceffors, or the
 “ kingdom of *Sweden* and her faid *German*
 “ provinces, fhall not be troubled nor molefted
 “ at any time, nor under any pretence on this

1707. " subject. Provided nevertheless, that every
 " other engagement or obligation wherein these
 " provinces are, or hereafter may be bound to
 " his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, re-
 " main entire and untouched.

" XVI. And lastly, The more to confirm
 " what hath been here agreed on, and to give
 " the strongest assurance that all and every the
 " points herein contained shall be most holily
 " and inviolably observed, it shall remain in
 " the power of his royal Majesty of *Sweden* to
 " name and appoint such guarantees as he shall
 " approve of.

" In witness of all which articles, the Mi-
 " nister of his sacred Imperial Majesty, in-
 " structed and furnished with full powers for
 " that purpose, hath signed with his hand, and
 " sealed with his seal this present convention,
 " with a promise that within the term of a
 " fortnight to be counted from this day, that
 " his Imperial Majesty shall ratify the same,
 " and that he will deliver an instrument thereof
 " in a proper form."

Done at the camp-royal at Alt-Ranstadt,
Aug. 22. 1707.

(L. S.)

WENCELAUS Count de Wratislau.

" We *Charles*, by the grace of God, K. of *Swe-*
 " *den*, of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, do make known,
 " that, whereas the most serene and most puis-
 " sant Prince and Lord, *Joseph*, Emperor of
 " the *Romans*, ever August, &c. our dear bro-
 " ther, cousin and friend, having sent to our
 " camp, the illustrious *John Wenceslaus* Count
 " of

“ of *Wratiflau*, his Privy-Counsellor and Chan- 1707.
“ cellor of *Bobemia*, hath by that Minister com-
“ posed the differences which had arisen be-
“ tween us, on conditions amply express’d and
“ comprized in the above instrument, passed the
“ 22d of *August* last, which hath been remitted
“ to us by the said Minister, signed with his
“ hand; and whereas we are not less disposed
“ to maintain and affirm the antient alliance
“ which we have with his Imperial Majesty,
“ and the august house of *Austria*, and to pre-
“ vent all occasions of enmity which might
“ happen hereafter, we have been pleased to
“ certify and declare, and we do certify and
“ declare, sincerely and faithfully, by the fol-
“ lowing articles.

“ I. That we will faithfully and inviolably
“ maintain the peace of *Osnabrug*, as a com-
“ mon and perpetual law between us, his sa-
“ cred Imperial Majesty, and the *Roman Em-*
“ pire. That we will sincerely preserve a
“ friendship with his sacred Imperial Majesty,
“ and as we have received satisfaction on ac-
“ count of the differences which lately fell out be-
“ tween us, so we abolish all pretensions which
“ we might have on this subject, being desirous
“ that they may remain buried under perpetual
“ oblivion.

“ II. In like manner, we promise to with-
“ draw, without delay, all our troops, as well
“ foot as horse, out of his Imperial Majesty’s
“ hereditary countries in *Silesia*, as soon as the
“ ratification of what hath been promised shall
“ be delivered to us, and the orders for putting
“ these promises in execution shall be issued in
“ the proper form; but if we should be ob-
“ liged,

1707. " lized, in the mean time, to cause our troops
 " to remain in *Silesia*, they must be there pro-
 " vided with subsistence, and we promise, on
 " our part, that they shall observe good disci-
 " pline, and that we will not suffer them to
 " commit any acts of violence.

III. But, if contrary to our apprehension,
 " the promises on the part of his Imperial Ma-
 " jesty, shall not be accomplished within the
 " appointed time ; in this case, we reserve a
 " power of keeping our troops in *Silesia*, till
 " they shall be accomplished. In witness
 " whereof, we have signed this present instru-
 " ment with our hand, and have ordered our
 " royal seal to be affixed to the same."

Done at our camp at Wolckovia, Aug. 22.

1707.

CHARLES.

(L. S.) C. PIPER.

At *Stockholm* a fine medal was struck on the redress of the grievances of religion in *Silesia*, regulated by this treaty or convention.

This gave very great pleasure to the Queen, his Majesty's grandmother, who caused publick rejoicings to be made thereon. The medal we mention had on one side the figure of the King of *Sweden*, with these words round :

CAROLUS XII. D. G. Rex Sueciae.

CHARLES XII. by the grace of God, King of *Sweden*,

On the reverse, was, on a little pedestal, whereon was engraved the *Alpha* and *Omega*, a censor,

a censor, from which, at several holes, issued flaming perfumes, and above was this inscription:

Ad cœlum liberiore via.

To heaven in a freer way.

At the bottom, distinct from the pedestal, was the delineation of a wood with these words:

Sacris Silesiæ Evangelicæ restitutis.

A. M. DCC. VII. *

Her holy rights restored to the church of Silesia.

After his *Swedish* Majesty had thus gloriously put an end to all these difficulties which had retarded his departure from *Saxony*, the regiments which had long since received orders to hold themselves ready to march at a minute's warning, were now put in motion. This Prince having reviewed them, as we have before said, and found them in excellent order.

The march of some *Swedish* regiments towards *Silesia* had much accelerated the convention which his Majesty had concluded with the Emperor, touching the restitution of the *Lutheran* churches and service in *Silesia*. As nothing

* The report of the Emperor *Joseph's* answer to the Pope's Nuntio, who reproached him in a very strong manner, on the part of the holy father, on his having granted all that the King of *Sweden* demanded, touching the religious grievances in

Silesia, is most undoubtedly true. It is well for you, answered the Emperor smiling, that the King of *Sweden* did not propose to make me a *Lutheran*: for if he would have exacted it of me, I know not what I could have done.

1707. now remained to keep them any longer in *Saxony*, the King gave positive orders of decamping, these orders were issued, *Aug.* 21. at six in the evening.

The foreign Ministers, after having had their audience of leave, were already departed, saving that of *France*, and the *Swedish* ladies, who had, by his Majesty's permission, come to see their husbands, now returned home.

Our regiments were compleat by the recruits raised at *Franchfort*, *Ratisbon*, *Ingolstadt*, *Brunau*, and other places in *Bavaria*, but above all by the levies in *Silesia*, where the forwardness to serve was very remarkable. At last, after having celebrated a day of fast and prayer, the next day, which was *Aug.* 22. the King ordered the signal of decampment to be given by the trumpets and kettle-drums.

This Prince marched from *Alt-Ranstadt* by four in the morning at the head of his *Drabans**, followed by the regiments of dragoon-guards. All the other regiments were ordered to march, each separately, towards *Steinau* on the *Oder*, where they were to assemble and enter *Poland* in six columns.

The King past by *Leipsic* about noon, accompanied only by the prince of *Wurtemberg* and three other persons. He stopt a few moments in the castle of *Pleissenburg*, where he gave orders to repair all the damages it had suffered. He dined afterwards at *Libervolckowitz*, which is three leagues from *Alt-Ranstadt*, and here he

* Their Captain-Lieutenant Count *Wrangle* died at *Alt-Ranstadt*, some weeks before, and his place was filled up by another of the

same name, who was a Lieutenant in the corps of *Drabans*, and was a Major-General.

passed

passed the night. In the morning he went to *Grimm*, (two leagues) the day following to *Mygeln*, (three leagues) whence he marched to *Grantzig*, (two leagues and a half) thence to *Meisseu*, (three leagues) having passed the *Elbe* at *Oberau* and *Nidera*. 1707.

The same day, the King accompanied only by the Duke of *Holstein*, and by some Officers and Drabans, to the number only of six, to whom he had not mentioned his design, turned about all at once towards *Dresden*, where he entered on a gallop at four in the afternoon, and went directly to the castle. He there surprized King *Augustus*, who was in *dishabille*, being very far from expecting this visit; and without giving him time to recover himself, or letting him quit his sight, he took his leave of him in less than half an hour, as he did likewise of the Electress, mother to King *Augustus*, and his own aunt, and of the Electoral Prince. After this visit he remounted his horse, and having rode round the rampart together with King *Augustus*, he left *Dresden* under a discharge of the cannon, and proceeded to his quarters at *Nussdorff* *.

On the 28th, the King marched to *Bischofswerden*, (six leagues) and on the next day to *Katowitz*, near the town of *Bautzen* in *Lusace*, (two leagues and a half) whence he went to encamp at *Lautzig*, (two leagues) and the day following at *Reichenbach*, (two leagues) near to *Gorlitz*. His Majesty having learnt that the *Muscovites* made a shew of intending to oppose

* Upon the arrival, the next day, of an account that King *Augustus* had held an extra-council at *Dresden*, Ba-

ron *Stralenbrim* said, You will find the matter of debate to be what they ought to have done yester day.

King

1707. King *Stanislaus*, who had led the van on the 16th of *August* with his *Polish* and several *Swedish* regiments, ordered some regiments to advance to reinforce him. During all this march, the most severe discipline was observed in the army. The officers and soldiers were obliged before they quitted their quarters, to pay to the last penny of their debts; and the Colonels had orders, during the march, to do justice on the spot to all those who should have the least reason of complaint. The 2d of *September*, the King past by *Gorlitz*, and encamped at *Lauban*, (four leagues.) On the 4th he entered *Silesia*, and lay at *Bunzlau*, (three leagues.)

The day of the King's arrival in *Silesia*, the Count *de Zinzendorff* came from *Vienna* to his Majesty's quarters, with the ratification of the treaty concluded for the reparation of the grievances in religion. He followed the army even to the frontiers of *Poland*, being very earnest on every occasion to give instances of the most extraordinary respect to his Majesty, during his passage through the frontiers.

It was at this time that Count *Zobor* was sent back to *Vienna*, the King having besought the Emperor to restore him to his post, which was done accordingly.

On his Majesty's entry into *Silesia*, the Prince Palatine, who was Governor-General, published the treaty concluded with the Emperor, touching the restitution of the churches of the confession of *Ausbourg*; this threw all the Monks into a great consternation, and especially alarmed the Jesuits, who were obliged, among other restitutions which they made, to quit their fine college of *Lignitz*, and the church of *St. John*, notwithstanding the endeavours which they

they used with the King by their requests and supplications, which were not listened to. 1707.

The King continued his march on the 5th, from *Bunzlau* to *Luben*, (six leagues) where he halted the next day, and on the 7th marched to *Ramsen*, (one league and a half) which is a village half a league from *Steinau* on the *Oder*.

Now the whole army being drawn together, was ordered to pass the *Oder*, and then to march in six columns. The King with his column encamped at *Leubus*, a cloyster three leagues beyond the river, whence he went on the next day to *Great* and *Little Streus*, (three leagues) where they stopt one day, and afterwards proceeded to *Sworowa*, (one league and a half) where the kingdom of *Poland* begins.

During the King of *Sweden*'s march an infinite crowd of people, both young and old, ran together from all parts to see this monarch, their protector and the restorer of their most precious liberty, who observed, that this great Prince caused prayers to be solemnized twice a day, as of custom, in the open field, where he incamped the soldiers, forming a circle round the Minister, being all on their knees together with the King. This admirable example of piety made such an impression on the children, that they afterwards imitated it in many places with such extraordinary circumstances, that numbers of persons came from far to see these assemblies, which occasioned them to be so often repeated, that for fear of some evil consequences, they were a while after forbidden; as the public acts printed at *Breslau* testify.

The King marched from *Sworowa* to *Jatrochin*, (one league and a half) whence he proceeded to *Krotochin*, (two leagues) and encamped

1707. camped the day after at *Buden*, (two leagues) marching afterwards two leagues to *Plissou*, and on the next day two leagues more to *Chocz*, whence he marched to *Sawerowa*, (two leagues and a half). On the 19th, he came to *Varta*, and fixed his head-quarters in a little Bourg, called *Slupza*, one league from *Laudeck*. His Majesty remained some time till the recruits were arrived at the army from *Sweden*, which were to be distributed in the national regiments.

Our troops met on no side with any resistance, as they had at first expected; but, on the other hand, they suffered extremely with the want of forage and water, the *Russians* having infected with carcasses most of the springs and wells which were on this road, and burnt, sacked and carried away, as we have before said, every thing on which the army might subsist, retreating still backwards, though they were upwards of a hundred thousand strong.

What was still worse was this, that the *Russians* had destroyed all the mills; nor could our *Voloches* hinder the enemy from committing these desolations, nor could they, though they fled about the country, do any more mischief to the *Russians*, than by carrying off here and there a few men and horses.

The Council of *Lublin* dispersed, Sep. 22. in a very tumultuous manner, without appointing either place or time for their meeting again, in spite of all the pains which the Czar took to transfer it to *Warsaw*.

It was only agreed, 1. That as the Council had not named any place for the continuance of their session, the Marshal of the confederacy, the principal Ministers, and some Nuntios of the *Palatinates* should be obliged to remain with the
Primate,

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Primate, to concert with him whatever may be judged expedient for the common cause. 2. That the Primate should publish a proclamation, ordering the inferior Nobility to mount their horses on the second order. 3. That the crown-army should be promised those arrears which are due to them, exhorting them to continue faithful to the Republic, and to assist her in proceeding to the election of a new King. 4. lastly, It was agreed to give the command of the army in *Lithuania* to the Under-Marshal, in case he would return to his obedience to the confederated Republic, giving him six weeks time to consider thereon.

After this assembly had settled these articles, all the deputies departed from *Lublin* the 24th of the same month, confusion and consternation on all sides pressing hard on the Primate and his adherents.

On the other side, the Czar having been informed of the advantageous treaty which his *Swedish* Majesty had concluded with the Emperor, and that he had entered *Poland* at the head of a brave and numerous army, to support the crown on the head of *Stanislaus*, and seeing the irresolution, the timidity and the confusion which had reigned at *Lublin*, whence the confederates were at last dispersed, he, who was advanced as far as *Grodno* and *Tykozin*, returned hastily to *Warsaw*, where he held a grand council of war, in which it was resolved that he should trust the conduct of his armies to his Generals *Menzikof* and *Scheremetof*, and go himself to *Petersbourg*, as well to give his orders for the dispatch of every thing necessary for his troops, as to put forth his fleet, in order to make a diversion for the *Swedes* in some other place.

It

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It was resolved in this council of war, that the Generals, each at his post, should defend the passage of the *Vistula*, and that in their retreat towards *Lithuania*, they should ruin the whole country; which they had already begun, as we have said, sacking and burning the lands, &c. of friends and enemies, without any distinction.

Menzikof took his post at *Padwak*, General *Ronn* at *Prague*, the suburbs of *Warsovia*, and General *Hayn* at *Blonia*. After this the Czar set out for his own dominions, passing through *Tykozin*, *Grodno*, and *Wilna*, where he staid some time.

The court of King *Stanislaus* encreased daily at the head-quarters of the two Kings at *Slupza*. Prince *Radziwil*, Great-Chancellor of *Lithuania*, one *Lubomirski*, the Prince *Wisniowski*, and *Potoki*, Palatine of *Kiovia*, and Great-General of the crown, were assembled here with a great number of Lords, and many of the Nobility. The army of the crown was at the same time reinforced every day, after King *Stanislaus* had published a proclamation. There was an universal appearance of satisfaction in all faces on their delivery from the *Russians*, their pretended protector, who did them more mischief in a very little time, than they had suffered in many years from the war.

It was at this time that the famous *Paskul* was executed, near the convent and little town of *Casimir**, which is but eight leagues from the

* This town is not to be confounded with another named *Casimir*, situated on the *Vistula*, in the Palatinate of *Lublin*.

town of *Poznania*, being situated between this last named town and *Slupza*. He was broke alive, his quarters were set upon the road, and his head on a post. *

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The

* This unfortunate Gentleman was a native of *Livonia*, a province which formerly belonged to the Knights of the Teutonic order, and had been since contested for by the *Muscovites*, the *Poles*, and the *Swedes*; which last had enjoyed it since the reign of *Gustavus Adolphus*, and now claimed it by a solemn cession at the treaty of *Oliwa*. The *Livonians* had their share in the severities exercised by *Charles XI.* on his subjects, and had been by him robbed of their privileges, and of part of their estates. *Patkul* was on this occasion deputed by the *Livonian* chiefs to carry their complaints to the throne of *Sweden*, where he represented them in a very respectful speech, but which was at the same time delivered in a nervous stile, and adorned with that ungrateful eloquence which is generally the language of bravery in distress. *Charles XI.* concealing his resentment, struck *Patkul* gently on his shoulder, and said to him, *You have spoke like a brave man, and I esteem you, proceed as you have begun.* Notwithstanding which he, a few days afterwards, declared him a traitor, and as such con-

demned him to die. *Patkul*, who perhaps was not without suspicion, got timely information, and conveyed himself safe into *Poland*, where he was favourably received by *Augustus*, to whom, after the death of *Charles XI.* he represented *Livonia* as an easy conquest, from the male-contentment of the people, who vehemently desired to shake off the *Swedish* yoke, and the incapacity of the young King's tender years, to defend himself there. The measures taken to this purpose and their success, our author hath well disclosed in the foregoing part of his history. *Augustus* made him a general in his armies, but as he could not accommodate himself to the fiery temper of *Flemming*, who was the favourite of that King, and had the ascendent in his Councils; he past afterwards into the service of the Czar, who presently made him a General, and afterwards employed him in an embassy to King *Augustus*. Whilst he was in this character, he discovered that the views of *Flemming* and of the Chancellor of *Saxony* were to strike up a peace with *Sweden* at any rate whatever, he therefore formed

ed

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The same month died also Colonel Gortz *,
He had been in the service of *Saxony*, from
whence he had passed to that of *Sweden*, as we
have mentioned before, having raised in *Saxony*
a re-

* He was not of the illustrious family of the Barons of
Gortz in *Franconia*.

ed a design to be before-
hand with them, by pro-
curing an accommodation
between the King of *Swede-
den* and the Czar. This pro-
ject was detected by the
Chancellor, who presently
procured an order from King
Augustus to arrest his person
at *Dresden*; a step, which
as it was against the law of
nations, surprized all *Eur-
ope*, and violently incensed
the Czar, whose Commis-
sary Prince *Galiotzin* very
loudly exclaimed against it
at the court of *Saxony*:
however, *Augustus* found
means to satisfy the Czar,
(at least in appearance) and
to persuade him that *Patkul*
had traiterously sacrificed
both their interests. *Patkul*
was conveyed a prisoner to
the castle of *Konistig* in
Saxony, where he remained
till the peace was signed be-
tween *Charles* and *Augustus*,
in which his delivery to the
King of *Sweden* was ex-
pressly stipulated: but *Aug-
ustus*, when he found the
King of *Sweden* obstinate on
this point, thought to satisfy
Charles XII. and his honour
at the same time. He sent

guards therefore to deliver
him up, after he had dis-
patched private orders to the
Governor to suffer him to
escape. Poor *Patkul's* ill
fortune converted the mea-
sures which were taken for
his preservation into his ruin:
for as the Governor knew
him to be very rich, he was
desirous of making him pay
for his liberty; but as the
prisoner yet relied on the
rights of nations, and was
likewise informed of King
Augustus's intentions, he re-
fused to buy what he ex-
pected to obtain gratis. In
the mean time, the guards
arrived, and delivered him
to four *Swedish* Captains, who
carried him directly to *Alt-
Ranstadt*, where after a stay of
three months, during which
he was fastened to a stake
with an heavy iron chain, he
was conducted to *Casimir*.
Charles XII. having ordered
the council of war to judge
him with the last rigour, he
was by them condemned to
be broke alive on the wheel,
and his body to be quarte-
red. A Chaplain came to
inform him of his death,
without acquainting him
with

a regiment of dragoons consisting of three thousand men. As soon as the army entered Poland, the dragoons of this regiment deserting in great parties, this Colonel, of his own authority,

with the manner, when this unhappy man, who had brav'd death in so many battles, having his courage no longer supported by glory or anger, the only sources of intrepidity, shed abundance of tears in the Chaplain's bosom. He was contracted to a *Saxon* lady of birth, merit and beauty, and to whom he expected shortly to be married, when he was delivered up. He desired the Chaplain to go and comfort her with assurances of the tenderness for her in which he died. When he came to the place of execution, and saw the wheels and instruments prepared, he fell into convulsions of fear, and threw himself into the arms of the Minister, who embraced him, covering him with his cloak and weeping. A *Swedish* officer then read the following sentence with a loud voice: "Be it known, that it is the express command of his Majesty, our most merciful Prince, that this

"man who is a traitor to his country, be broke on the wheel and quartered, for the reparation of his crimes, and for an example to others; that every one may cautiously shun the commission of treason, and serve his King faithfully." At the words *most merciful Prince*; where is his mercy? said *Patkul*; and at those of *Traitor to his country*, alas, said he, I have served it too well. He received sixteen strokes, and suffered the longest and most dreadful torments that can be imagined. I have thought a short account of this harsh and cruel act, which was committed in open defiance of all virtue, humanity, and the law of nations, would not be disagreeable to the reader, as our author draws the curtain as much as possible over it; and this consistently enough with his respect to the memory of his hero, which will contract a stain from hence

It may be proper to inform the *English* reader, that it is the custom of those countries where torments are used, not to discover to the prisoner the manner of his death till the day of his execution, in the morning of which he is conducted before his judge, where his sentence is read to him, and he is from thence directly led to execution.

1707. thority, thought proper to hang some deserters whom he caught. This, joined to many violent exactions committed by him in *Saxony*, and which were reported to his Majesty, was the cause of his been laid under arrest, but he died some days after of a violent bleeding. His Majesty sent his physician to see him, but he found him dead. His corps was sent to his own home, which was four leagues from *Berlin*, and the King at the same time assured the widow of his protection. The differences which he had had with the officers of his regiment were likewise determined by a sum of money afterwards paid them. His regiment was divided into two*, Colonel *Albedybl* had one, and Colonel *Gyllenstierna* the other.

As soon as the recruits, who were all chosen men, were arrived by the way of *Pomerania* from *Sweden*, the army was entirely compleated by the end of *October*, and consisted of the following regiments.

hence not to be washed away by all the blood spilt in his victories. And I shall be excused (at least by the superstitious) for observing that all his successes ended with it; and whoever considers the remainder of his life, may perhaps doubt whether the fate of poor *Patkul* on the scaffold was not more eligible to a wise man, than that of *Charles* at the head of his then victorious army. *Patkul's* quarters remained exposed on stakes, till the year 1700, when *Augustus*

reascended his throne. He then ordered these evidences of the necessity to which he had been reduced at *Alt-Ranstadt* to be brought to *Warsaw* where, he said to the *French* Envoy, pointing to the box which contained them, there are the members of *Patkul*, without adding any thing either to reflect on, or lament his memory. Nor did any one there present dare offer his sentiments on so delicate and melancholy a subject.

* He had before said three,

HORSE.

Regiments.	Colonels.	Men.
Drabans	<i>Wrangle,</i>	1500
Horse-Guards	<i>Creutz,</i>	1500
Smoland	<i>Dahlborff,</i>	1000
Ostrogoths	<i>Rosenstierna,</i> after- wards <i>Hamilton,</i>	1000
South Scania	<i>Oernstedt,</i>	1000
North Scania	<i>Horn,</i>	1000
Adelsfahn	<i>Hummerhielm,</i>	800
Nyland	<i>Torstenfan,</i>	1000
Trimanning	<i>Crus,</i>	1000
		8450

DRAGOONS.

Dragoon-Guards	<i>Rheinschild,</i>	1500
	<i>Hamilton,</i>	
Dragoons des Pre- tres	<i>Buchwald,</i> afterwards <i>Wrangel,</i> afterwards <i>Maxim. Eman.</i>	
Prince of	<i>Wurtemberg,</i>	1250
	<i>Meyerfeld,</i>	1500
	<i>Ducker,</i>	1250
	<i>Crassam,</i>	1250
	<i>Marshall,</i>	1250
Regiments of Dra- goons enlisted during the war.	<i>Muller,</i>	1250
	<i>Taubs,</i>	1250
	<i>Hielm,</i>	1250
	<i>Albedybl,</i>	1500
	<i>Gyllenstierna,</i>	1500
	<i>Francois,</i>	1250
		16000

The LIFE and HISTORY of

F O O T.

Regiments.	Colonels.	Men.
Guards	Count <i>Poss</i> ,	3000
Upland	<i>Fritzki</i> ,	1200
Sudermanland	<i>Mardefeld</i> ,	1200
Westrogoths	Count <i>Gaspar Sper-</i>	1200
	<i>ling</i> ,	
	Count <i>James Sper-</i>	
Ostrogoths	<i>ling</i> , afterwards	1200
	<i>Spar</i> , (<i>Olof</i>)	
Of Smo-	Cronsbergh-Lehn	Cronmann, 1200
land {	Jonkioping-Lehn	Buchwald, 1200
	Calmar-Lehn	Rank, 1200
Nerck & Werml.	<i>Roos</i> ,	1200
Wesmanland	<i>Spar (Axel)</i> ,	1200
Dahl-Carlois	<i>Sigroth</i> ,	1200
Westerbothn	<i>Lagercrona</i> ,	1200
Pomerania	<i>Horn</i> ,	1800
German Regiments		
in the garrison of	<i>Ekelbladt</i> ,	1200
Elbing		
		19200
Total—		43650

Of this army fix regiments were ordered to remain about King *Stanislaus* in *Poland*, namely,

Horn, Pomerarians.

Eckelbladt.

Crassau.

Muller.

Marſchall.

Les Francois.

8000 Men.

The

The rest, to wit, 35650 men followed his Majesty in his expedition against the Czar. The body under *Lowenbaupt* were to join them, as we shall see presently. 1707.

The continual rains which had fallen, and which had rendered the roads impassable, being ended, and succeeded by a great frost, the King gave the orders of decamping. In conformity to which, they marched the 30th of *October*, five leagues to *Lubstowa*. The next day they encamped at *Birtzwinno*, (three leagues and a half) where they halted a day, and on the 2d of *November* marched two leagues and a half to *Cbodecz* and *Lubinetz*.

During this march, the Count *de Dobna*, Envoy of *Prussia*, had a publick audience of his Majesty in the open field before his tent. The Officers and *Drabans* formed a large circle round the King, who entertained the Minister for an hour with his hat under his arm, nor did the snow which fell in great flakes, and covered his head, seem to incommode him in the least. *

The army having decamped, *Novemb. 3.* marched three leagues and a half to *Glogova*, where it halted one day, and then encamped about *Wilkovice*, *Puruf* and *Grabowa*. The King took up his head-quarters at *Wienniez*, which is half a league from *Brzeſt Cujawski*, and two leagues from *Grabowa*.

As soon as his Majesty arrived at *Wienniez*, he went the same day, attended by Prince *Wur-*

* This is evidently that passage which *Mr. de la Motraye* mentions in his criticisms on *Mr. de Voltaire*, applying it to Count *Flemming*, and pretending that this past at *Alt-Ransdadt*, where *Charles XII.* never incamped, as he says he did, but was well lodged in a very good gentleman's house.

1707. *tenberg*, and his usual train, together with some *Valoches* to *Wladislaw* on the *Vistula*, and ordered ten men in the night to pass the river to reconnoitre the enemy. These reported that they were already retreated, on which his Majesty ordered his regiment of guards to advance, which was quartered in this town.

At this time a *Turkish* Minister arrived at *Wienniez*. He was instructed to congratulate King *Stanislaus* on his accession, and to renew the ancient league with *Poland*. As his instructions extended likewise to compliment his *Swedish* Majesty, he had an audience in Count *Piper's* quarters. He presented his letters of credence covered with cloth of gold, and made a discourse, which when interpreted, was in substance: That the fame of the great actions of his Majesty being come to the great Sultan his master, he had sent this Minister to offer him his friendship, and to assure him that he received great pleasure from the success of his arms; and moreover, to thank his Majesty for the goodness he had shewn two years since, in setting at liberty some *Turks* who were prisoners at *Leopold*: he added, that the Sultan his master, to testify his acknowledgment of that action, had caused more than a hundred *Swedes* to be set at liberty, who had been taken by the *Calmuks* and sold into *Turkey*.

Hermelin, Secretary of State, answered in Latin in the King's name, That his Majesty was entirely disposed to maintain, on his part, a good correspondence with the *Ottoman* Porte, and that he would explain himself more amply on the subject of his commission. A *Polander*, who was in the service of the *Turkish* Minister, interpreted this answer to him. This Minister was lodged

lodged in the town, and had his expences defrayed all the time that the King was at *Wien-
nierz.* 1707.

This Envoy received at his audience of leave, the present which is usually given at the court of *Sweden* to *Turkish* Ministers, namely, six hundred ducats. He was also magnificently entertained by King *Stanislaus*, who permitted him to chuse his present. He returned home highly satisfied, and principally with having obtained a promise from the King of *Sweden* that he would never abandon King *Stanislaus*.

The Marquess *de Rochegude*, a *French* refugee, dispatched by the Protestant cantons, had likewise audience of his Majesty at *Slupzia*, where he entreated him to use his good offices with the King of *France* to obtain the liberty of the Reformed condemned to the galleys, and detained in dungeons on account of their religion. He had his audience of leave at *Wiennierz*, some days before the departure of the army, much charmed with the compassion which his Majesty had testified for those unhappy poor wretches, and with the instructions he had ordered to be sent to his Minister at *Paris*, to intercede strongly in their favour.

At last, orders being given to decamp, the army was put in motion, *Decemb.* 18. on which day and the 19th, they approached the *Vistula* by *Duninowa* and *Brzillho*, in order to pass it at several places. As great quantities of ice were then floating on the river, they could not pass it till the 28th, when it began to bear. His Majesty, who remained at *Wiennierz*, had passed some days before with a small train, to make a visit to the Bishop of *Cracow*,

- 1707: whose estates lay on the other side of the river. December 30. the King with the Court, having left *Wienniez*, the army passed the *Vistula* with great ease, very few men and horses being drowned. The army, on the first day, proceeded two leagues and a half to *Grokowalk*. The next day they marched to *Borzewo*, (three leagues); and the first day of the year 1708.
1708. O. S. came to the town of *Drobin*. The following letter written by the author himself to a sovereign Duke of the Empire, will explain this better.

My LORD,

“ I HAVE the honour to acquaint your
 “ Serene Highness with the departure of the
 “ Court the 30th of *December*, O. S. whence
 “ the army took its rout by the town of *Wla-*
 “ *dislaw*, where the regiment of guards was
 “ quartered, and whence it had marched the
 “ day before, to give room to other regiments
 “ who were to follow the same way.

“ The passage, my Lord, was chearful e-
 “ nough, and every one was pleased to find
 “ himself on the other side of the water. It
 “ was a fine day, and we continued passing all
 “ the morning without any danger; but to-
 “ wards noon, what with the wearing of the
 “ ice with horses and carriages, and with the
 “ sun’s thawing it, notwithstanding all the pre-
 “ caution which could be taken by passing in
 “ different places, some waggons sunk under
 “ the ice, which was not three fingers thick, and
 “ as it was worse near the shores than in the
 “ middle

“ middle, they were compelled to use planks, 1708.

“ which had served them to pass the other river.

“ The King spent most part of the day in
“ marshalling and facilitating the passage. He
“ then proceeded towards *Grokowalk*, and
“ marched that day two leagues and a half.
“ The baggage did not arrive till near the
“ morning, that of the *Drabans* is not arrived
“ yet. Major-General *Wrangel's* coach unfortunately sunk, nor could it be drawn out of
“ the water till the next day. The General
“ lost a great many fine cloths by this accident.

“ On the 31st his Majesty continued his
“ march to a village named *Borgewo*, (three
“ leagues) where we expected to rest the next
“ day, being the first of the new year, but the
“ King willing to make room for those regiments which were to follow, decamped at
“ four in the morning, when the body of *Drabans* being assembled, congratulated the King
“ on the new year with the sound of kettle-drums and trumpets, which gave great life
“ to the march. We went three leagues that
“ day to the town of *Drobin*, where being arrived, his Majesty celebrated the new year
“ with a sermon and divine service. We are
“ at a great distance from *Prussia*, three leagues
“ from *Plosko*, twelve from *Pultowsk*, and fourteen from *Tborn*.

“ All the army is at present past, though
“ with difficulty. His Majesty hath learnt that
“ the regiment of *Meyerfeld*, which passed near
“ *Plocko*, being on the river, the ice separated
“ itself from the land in a very singular manner, and floated along with all the soldiers,

“ &c.

1708. " &c. on it, this caused a great consternation
 " both among the men and horses, who di-
 " vided themselves for their safety into small
 " parties. It is, however, at length stopt, and
 " they continue to pass again, in spite of all the
 " danger which hath threatened them.

" The artillery crossed the river before
 " *Wladislaw*, and very successfully, by the
 " care which the Colonel took in covering the
 " passage with planks in form of a bridge ; for
 " the ice had almost sunk to the bottom, and
 " rendered the passage otherwise impracticable
 " in that place.

" This is, my Lord, an abridgment of our
 " passage of the *Vistula*, nothing remains for
 " me to tell your Serene Highness on this head,
 " but what the King remarked in this passage,
 " that four of his Major-Generals had had the
 " ill-luck to fall into the water, namely, *La-*
 " *gercrona*, *Roos*, *Meyerfeld* and *Creutz*, the
 " ice having broke under them, but none of
 " them were drowned.

" Yesterday, being the 1st of *January*, a
 " party of our *Valoches* having penetrated five
 " leagues on the other side of *Minsko* towards
 " *Lublin*, surprized three companies of the
 " crown army, whom they entirely defeated,
 " taking their colours, which were this day
 " presented to the King with their com-
 " manding officer, to whom they gave quar-
 " ter. We have news also, that another
 " *Polish* party hath been defeated by our
 " *Valoches* on the other side of *Pultowsk*,
 " and we expect the prisoners to arrive in-
 " cessantly.

" The

“ The Great-General *Sapieha* is arrived from 1708.
 “ *Lithuania*. I have the honour to be, with
 “ profound respect,

My LORD,

Drobin, Jan.
 1. 1708.

Your Serene Highness's

Most humble, and

most obedient Servant,

GUSTAVUS ALDERFELD.

The King, having decamped from *Drobin* on the 4th, marched to *Czekanowa*, (six leagues and a half) where he stayed till the 7th, for the coming up of his army. He had left some regiments in the *Dantziger-Warder**, and the neighbourhood thereof, to secure them from the insults of the enemy, and so cover the town of *Poznania*.

On the 7th, the army advanced three leagues, to *Pranitz*, coasting along the borders of *Prussia*, where they halted on the 8th and 9th. Hitherto the march had been supportable enough, save for the violent cold ; but for the future it

* There was an hot alarm in the city of *Dantzic*, at the approach of the King's army, on account that one *Riedesel*, a Swedish Captain of dragoons, was killed in the suburbs of that city in September last, on which account they feared the resentment of his Majesty. To appease whom, they sent to *Elbing*

the Lieutenant with sixteen soldiers who had committed the murder ; this so satisfied his Majesty, that he sent several regiments to cover the town on the warder side, which had been much oppressed by the *Muskovites* since the affair of General *Renn*.

became

1708, became very painful, by the bogs which they met with every where, by the deep and almost impassable roads, by the flight of all the inhabitants, who, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, saved themselves in woods, and had abandoned their houses, where no kind of victuals were found, and lastly by the mischievousness of the peasants, of this province of *Masovia*, being most of them vagabonds and robbers, who concealed themselves behind trees and coverts, whence they discharged their fire on our people.

The army having decamped on the 10th from *Pranitz*, entered the wood in three columns, that under the King passing by the village of *Olsewska*, (three leagues) where his Majesty rested that night. It was this day that the bogs began, on which the peasants kept themselves quiet. But on the next morning, in which the King advanced to *Brodowalenski*, (two leagues and a half) where he remained one day, they began to molest us, killing some of our horses, and wounding several of our men: they had even the boldness to throw themselves in the night, into the village of *Brodowalenski*, and getting in at the windows, to kill a horse in the quarters of the *Drabans*.

The 19th, the King continued his march towards a convent of the Jesuits, three leagues distant from *Brodowalenski*, where he could not arrive, by reason of the continual annoyances from the peasants; and he was obliged to lie that night in the open field, near some fires which they had kindled; on the 14th he marched by the convent to the village of *Liepniki* (two leagues and a half) where his Majesty remained the 15th.

The next day, we made a very long march, five leagues to the town of *Colno*, where we remained

mained till the 18th, when his Majesty removed 1708.
two leagues to a village called *Grabow*, and on
the 20th, to the town of *Wagasz*, where we
halted a day, to recover the fatigue of the march,
in which the artillery had more particularly suf-
fered with great extremity, by losing a great
number of horses, which occasioned us to burn
several pontons, for want of horses to draw
them. The following letter puts these affairs in
a clear light.

My LORD,

“ I WAS mistaken when I told your Se-
“ rene Highness, in my most humble let-
“ ter of the 2d of *January*, that we intended
“ to march at a great distance from *Prussia*:
“ On the contrary, we have coasted on her
“ very frontiers. I shall proceed to give your
“ Serene Highness a continuation of the King’s
“ marches, which I could not do before, we
“ having been in perpetual motion.
“ We marched on the 4th from *Drobin* to
“ *Czekanowa*, passing by the town of *Rassuntz*.
“ Here the King rested two days, and decamp-
“ ed on the 7th, to go to *Prasnitz*, after having
“ seen several *Muscovite* prisoners which were
“ taken by the *Valoches*. Your Serene Highness
“ may, if you please, remark, that in this
“ march the King hath declined to the left,
“ which was with design to gain *Lithuania* by
“ a shorter way, but the woods and bogs ob-
“ structed our marches; I might say no army
“ ever passed that way before, the woods be-
“ ing moreover inhabited by a more brave and
“ hardy people than the rest of *Poland*, especi-
“ ally in the *Palatinate* of *Masovia*, where every
“ peasant hath his fusée, which he is very ex-
“ pert in the use of, and that chiefly in rob-
“ bing on the high-way. “ We

1708." " We had now a new war on our hands: for
 " these people knew of no other Sovereign than
 " King *Augustus*. Besides, my Lord, these
 " bravoes amount to upwards of seven thou-
 " sand men, and their woods, which begin in
 " *Polish Prussia*, running all along by the con-
 " fines of *Brandenbourg Prussia*, extend them-
 " selves by the town of *Merecz* in *Lithuania*,
 " as far as *Wilna*, being very thick coverts di-
 " vided by fens and bogs, by which we were
 " to pass into the *Polonese* over very bad and
 " ruinous bridges. I leave it to your Serene
 " Highness to judge of the difficulties to which
 " we have been exposed, as well as the rashness
 " of these wretches in presuming to oppose the
 " King's army.
 " But to proceed, my Lord, after resting
 " two days at *Prasnitz*, the King decamped,
 " and having marched about a league, he re-
 " entered the wood with his army in three co-
 " lums. The rout of the Court and the *Dra-*
 " *bans*, followed by the regiment of foot-
 " guards; the Leibregiment of horse; the
 " dragoon-guards and others, was marked out
 " through the little village of *Olseska*, three
 " leagues from *Prasnitz*, where the King passed
 " the night on the 10th with his Court, which
 " at their first entry into the wood, found great
 " difficulty in passing. We were also forced
 " to leave our baggage in the wood that day,
 " three soldiers of the guards were killed by
 " the peasants in that march.
 " The King proceeded, on the 11th, towards
 " the village of *Brodowalanki*, and marched two
 " leagues and a half that day; he rested
 " there the next, and our baggage came up
 " with us on the 12th in the evening. In this
 " march, the peasants killed the horse belong-
 " ing

“ ing to Secretary *Duben's* Valet. These wretches being hid in the woods, and sculking behind trees which they had overthrown, got ground of those who attempted in vain to pursue them, for they were very dextrous in running, and acquainted with all the paths and by-ways through the morasses. 1708.

“ The same day, the peasants fired at the great *Muscovite*, whom your Serene Highness hath seen at Mr. Intendant *Duben's*, and broke his left arm with two balls. Hitherto the King had attempted to reclaim those wretches, and to oblige them to rest quietly in their houses, with a promise that no one should do them any mischief; but as they carried their rashness so far as to answer, that his Majesty's troops should repent of their having taken a rout through their country, where no army had ever dared to attempt to pass, the King gave orders to shew them no quarter; and that every regiment, as soon as it was arrived at its quarters, should send out parties to fall upon them on all sides, and kill all they could meet with.

“ At *Brodowalenki*, Mr. *Caniser* came to join us with his *Valoches*, who, by the King's order, took the van; and, as *Caniser* was ordered to fix his Majesty's quarters three leagues from hence, in a convent of Jesuits, he advanced, and sent back one of the fathers to shew the King the way; on the 13th, informing him at the same time that the peasants were retired from that part, after having given him some disturbance on the road.

“ The next day we advanced towards the convent of the Jesuits, and had a defile and two bridges to pass, about half a league from *Brodowalenki*. There the peasants being re-
“ assembled

1708. “ assembled that night, had stopt up the pas-
 “ sage with great trees, which they had thrown
 “ down, and with which they erected a bar-
 “ ricade at the head of the defile; in such man-
 “ ner, that the van-guard composed of *Valo-*
 “ *ches* which *Caniser* had sent back to the
 “ King, the day before, advancing on the
 “ bridge was so well saluted with a *Salvo* from
 “ the peasants, that some of them were killed,
 “ and others wounded. This suspended the
 “ march, for we wanted foot to attack them,
 “ and the regiment of guards was a great way
 “ behind. Thus past this day, and we made
 “ fires in the wood to defend us from the cold.
 “ Towards the evening my younger bro-
 “ ther *, who performed the office of quarter-
 “ master to the guards, arrived with the har-
 “ bingers of the regiment; and the King,
 “ without being willing to stay for the rest, re-
 “ solved to attack the peasants with those few,
 “ dismounting at the same time some of the
 “ company of who were to come up
 “ also.

“ Whilst we were making the necessary dis-
 “ positions to attack them, an inhabitant of
 “ *Ortelbourg*, a subject of *Brandenbourg*, and
 “ who spoke *High-Dutch*, came up to us in the
 “ wood. He had a daughter married in
 “ *Ostrolenba*, and he was going to see her.
 “ He was stopt and in danger of being mas-
 “ sacred; for his poverty obliged him to wear
 “ the peasant's habit, though he was a citizen
 “ and a broker by profession. His language
 “ saved him, and the King questioning him

but * *Peter Aldersfelt*, actually General of the *Swedish* army,
 the most antient Major-Ge- and Commandant of *Malmö*.

“ con-
 boldmilla ”

“ concerning the morals, he offered to conduct 1708.
“ his Majesty by a road, where he might take
“ the peasants in the rear. Though he was
“ otherwise ignorant enough, he knew how to
“ wind to the best advantage. The troops being
“ ranged in order, marched, and the King
“ was himself with them : but the peasants
“ imagining some artifice was going to be
“ made use of against them, were already re-
“ tired, and had quitted their posts, whereof
“ we took possession, and about midnight the
“ King and the Prince of *Wurtemberg* returned
“ with the old man, whom they had disguised
“ with a blue cloak. This good man, who
“ knew not his Majesty, told him several di-
“ verting stories.

“ We lay all night under the open sky, and
“ the fine night joined to the great number of
“ fires which they had lighted, and which made
“ an agreeable sight, much softened those
“ pains which we had undergone during the
“ day. At the approach of the morning, the
“ King continued his march, and passing by
“ the convent of Jesuits, we arrived at a vil-
“ lage named *Liepniki*, (two leagues and an
“ half) where we rested the 15th, and where
“ we employed ourselves in chasing the peasants.

“ From *Liepniki*, we marched to the town
“ of *Colno*, (five leagues.) As the road was
“ very bad by reason of the many defiles and
“ bridges, the baggage did not arrive till the
“ next day. I should tell your Serene High-
“ ness, that this march had like to have been
“ very fatal to us : for as our men advanced on
“ the bridge, a peasant killed a horse, without
“ being able to seize the rider. The King,
“ who was not far off, perceiving what had
“ happened, ran instantly in pursuit of the trai-

1708. " tor with his pistol in his hand. By good
 " luck, a *Draban* advanced at the same time,
 " when from another part, the horse of this
 " *Draban* was killed by a bullet, which had
 " not missed his Majesty's person, or at least
 " his horse, if he had been the only one at
 " whom the aim had been taken. The *Dra-*
 " *ban* escaped unhurt.

" At *Colno*, we came out of the fenny or
 " boggy ground, and consequently out of the
 " country of the *Snaphans*, though the woods
 " continued still. Here all the inhabitants
 " were at their own homes, no one having fled.
 " The *Valoches* were returned from an expedi-
 " tion which they had undertaken two days
 " before, in pursuit of a hundred *Muscovite*
 " dragoons, and three hundred *Tartars*, who
 " knowing nothing of our approach, suffered
 " themselves to be surprized, and were entirely
 " defeated and cut to pieces. The *Valoches*
 " presented their standards to the King.

" The *Ortelsbourger*, who had followed his
 " Majesty hither, was now told that the person
 " by whom he had been so familiarly enter-
 " tained, was the King of *Sweden* himself.
 " He was transported with joy at the news,
 " for he had often on the road asked if he could
 " not have the happiness to see the King. His
 " Majesty dress'd him in blue from head to
 " foot, gave him twenty-five ducats in gold,
 " a great deal of silver; and farther, hav-
 " ing furnished him with a passport to re-
 " turn in safety, sent him away very highly
 " pleased.

" The 18th, the King decamped from *Col-*
 " *no*, and went to a village named *Grabow*,
 " (two leagues.) From which we proceeded
 " to the town of *Wagnsiez*, whence I have the

“ honour to send these presents to your Serene Highness by a merchant, who is just setting out. As I am a little fatigued with my march, your Serene Highness will doubtless find my letter to be very ill writ, as in effect I avow it to be; but I have only in view to report matters as they pass’d, which will, I hope, plead my excuse to your Serene Highness. 1708.

“ As to the rest, I must tell you, my Lord, we were sufficiently deceived at *Wienniez*, in imagining that the *Muscovites* were absolutely retreated towards their frontiers. It is true, their infantry is on that side, but their cavalry still maintain their posts, which beginning at *Bresizie* extend by *Slonim*, *Tykozin*, *Augustowa*, *Philippowa*, and from *Grodno* to *Wilna*; and if fortune befriend us, we shall shortly be within the heart of their cantons. I fear, however, that we are a little discovered by the last party of *Valoches*, that we are ready to be at their heels: for we are at no greater distance from them than about ten or twelve leagues. It is astonishing enough that we should be able so well to conceal our march to this time. If we can be so happy to oblige the enemy to stand their ground, I shall not fail to acquaint your Serene Highness, &c.

Wagnisz on the frontiers of Prussia, Jan. 21. 1708.

G. ALDERFELT.

“ I forgot to tell your Serene Highness, that the peasants have killed some of our people, to the amount of twenty or thirty men, amongst others a merchant of *Konigsberg*, whose name was *Kabels*, who always followed us. He was killed and his waggons plundered.” On

1708. On the 22d, the King past the river *Naref*, on a bridge which was thrown across it, the *Russians* having destroyed that which was there. Hence he repaired in the evening to *Kramkowa*, where he spent the next day, the army encamping along both banks of the river. The 24th, his Majesty went to *Karonino*, a little town at some leagues distance from *Tykozin*, and ten leagues from *Grodno*, where King *Stanislaus* joined him with his column. Here, our troops first had sight of the enemy, who to the number of some thousand horse, were drawn up in order of battle; but retreated as soon as his Majesty, at the head of his *Einspanner* only advanced to attack them.

The army suffered much during this march, especially at one particular pass, where a bridge of a quarter of a mile long over a morass being broken down, very much retarded us.

The King, on the first notice that General *Roin* was detached by the Czar with eight thousand horse towards *Augustowa*, to attend our motion, advanced with some troops, hoping to cut off that party; but the several morasses, over which the bridges were broken down, gave the enemy so much time for their retreat, that at his Majesty's arrival he found the town of *Augustowa* entirely abandoned.

On the 25th of *January* the army advanced to *Gborfel* and *Stras*, (six leagues) through vast woods; the next day they proceeded four leagues to *Zukolke*, and on the 27th advancing four leagues farther, they encamped at *Nowidiow*, and in the neighbourhood of *Dubnizsa*, being two leagues distant from *Grodno*.



FINIS.

